Miscellanea.

THE SECOND PART.

In Four

ESSAYS.

I. *Upon Antient and Modern Learning.* 1.
II. *Upon the Gardens of* Epicurus. 73
III. *Upon Heroick Virtue.* 145
IV. *Upon Poetry.* 303

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*

BARONET.

—*Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

The Fifth Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for Ri. Simpson, at the *Three Trouts*, and Ra. Simpson at the *Harp* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1705.

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Almæ Matri

Academiæ Cantabrigienſi

Has qualeſcunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas

D. D. Dq;

ALUMNUS olim

Et ſemper Obſervantiſſimus

W. TEMPLE:

MISCELLANEA.

An Eſſay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHoever converſes much among the old Books, will be ſomething hard to pleaſe among the New; yet theſe muſt have their Part too in the Leiſure of an idle Man, and have many of them, their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Thoſe of Story, or Relations of Matter of Fact, have a Value from their Subſtance, as much as from their Form, and the Variety of Events, is ſeldom without Entertainment or Inſtruction. how indifferently ſoever the Tale is told. Other Sorts of Writings have little of Eſteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are ſeldom met with of any Excellency, becauſe

becauſe they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flouriſh upon them; and are at beſt but Copies after thoſe Originals, unleſs upon Subjects never touched by them; ſuch as are all that relate to the different Conſtitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in ſeveral Countries, with all Matters of Controverſy that ariſe upon them.

Two Peices that have lately pleaſed me (abſtracted from any of theſe Subjects) are, one in *Engliſh* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman but both very finely in their ſeveral Kinds, and upon their ſeveral Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common Hands: I was ſo pleaſed with the laſt (I mean the Faſhion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what elſe I could of the ſame hand, till I met with a ſmall Piece concerning Poeſy, which gave me the ſame Exception to both theſe Authors, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have been very partial to. For the firſt could not end his

Learned

Learned Treatiſe without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledge, in Compariſon of the Ancient: And the other falls ſo groſly into the cenſure of the old Poetry and Preference of the new, that I could not read either of theſe Strains, without ſome Indignation, which no Quality among Men is ſo apt to raiſe in me as Sufficiency, the worſt Compoſition out of the Pride and Ignorance of Mankind. But theſe two, being not the only Perſons of the Age that defend theſe Opinions, it may be worth examining, how far either Reaſon or Experience can be allowed to plead or determin in their Favour.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing is, firſt, as to Knowledge, that we muſt have more than the Ancients, becauſe we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the Similitude of a Dwarf's ſtanding upon a Gyant's ſhoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a Rate in all Ages, at leaſt in the ſame Climats, as the

Growth

Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are; And if both theſe are allowed, they think the cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſhould conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we have from thoſe that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing, has not perhaps, multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six Hundred Thouſand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not perhaps, by all put together; I mean ſo many Originals, that have lived any Time, and thereby given Teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Muſhrooms or Flies, are born and dye in ſmall circles of time; whereas Books like Proverbs, receive their chief Value from the Stamp and Eſteem of Ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides, the Account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous, in the leſſer *Aſia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of thoſe Books which

we

we now call Ancient, both Philoſophers and Hiſtorians. 'Tis true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progreſs of the *Jewiſh* Nation; all that paſſed in the reſt of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either ſunk in the Depths of Time, wrapt up in the Myſteries of Fables, or ſo maimed by the Want of Teſtimonies and loſs of Authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a Shade, to make any Judgement upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Ægypt*, the Relations in *Juſtin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make ſuch Excurſions beyond the Periods of Time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reaſon upon them. And this Diſagreement it ſelf after ſo great a Part of the World became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the Loſs of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his Time, of Writing many Books there was no End; and whoever conſiders the Subject and the Stile of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moſes* will hardly think

think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the Ancients then, and their Wiſdom as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptiouly conclude, That there were few Books before thoſe we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before thoſe Periods of Time, whereof they give us the ſhort Account. Books may be Helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and difuſed; but I doubt, whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Regiſters of Time; and theſe perhaps, might be as long preſerved without them, by the Care and Exactneſs of Tradition in the long Succeſſions of certain Races of Men, with whom they were intruſted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the leaſt uſe or Mention of Letters, there was remaining among them, the Knowledge of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in

Books

Books and Learning before they had much Progreſs in *Gaul* or *Brittany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what paſſed there, before the Conqueſt made of that Country by the *Engliſh* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A ſtrange but plain Demonſtration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbariſm, may ſucceed each other in the ſeveral Countries of the World, how much better the Records of Time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all theſe *Weſtern* Parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that Time.

'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Regions, there ſeems to have been a general Cuſtom of the Prieſts in each Country; having been either by their own Choice, or by Deſign of the Governments, the perpetual Conſervers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this laſt was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or con-

continued upon every Acceſſion to that Crown, to regiſter diſtinctly the Times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Æthiopia*, *Ægypt*, *Chaldea*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, theſe Cares were committed wholly to the Prieſts who were not leſs diligent in the Regiſters of Times and Actions, than in the Study and ſucceſſive Propagation thereby of all Natural *Science* and *Philoſophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the Ancient Colledges, or Societies of Prieſts, were mighty Reſervoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which ſome Streams entred perhaps every Age, from the Obſervations or Inventions of any great Spirits or tranſcendent Genius's, that happened to riſe among them: And nothing was loſt out of theſe Stores, ſince the Part of conſerving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and eaſy, as the other is hard and rare among Men.

In theſe Soils were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty Growths of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, Natural *Philoſophy*, and Ancient *Story*. From theſe Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and others of

of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all thoſe Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them ſo Renowned in all ſucceeding Ages. I make a Diſtinction between theſe Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Conſent of thoſe that firſt found them out, or have been ſince inſtructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and conteſted Opinions of Men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes ſo much of one, and ſo little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns, can be probably thought to have made the greateſt Progreſs in the Search and Diſcoveries of the vaſt Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been uſed, and what Labours imploy'd by the one and the other in theſe Noble Travels and Purſuits.

The Modern Scholars have their uſual Recourſe to the Univerſities of their Countries; ſome few it may be to thoſe of their Neighbours; and this, in queſt

of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though theſe are living, and thoſe in Compariſon, but dead Inſtructors; which like a Hand with an Inſcription, can point out the ſtraight Way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, reſolve your Doubts, or anſwer your Queſtions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are theſe dead Guides we ſeek in our Journey? They are at beſt but ſome few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latin, from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred Years. Before that time I know none, beſides ſome Poets, ſome Fables, and ſome few Epiſtles; and ſince that time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Tranſcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to conſider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philoſophy; the Firſt, gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect,

Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or compoſed: *Thales* was the Firſt of the *Sophi*, or Wiſe Men, Famous in *Greece*, and is ſaid to have learned his *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, *Aſtrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus*, to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philoſophers, and of the Virtues, having in Modeſty, choſen the Name of a Lover of Wiſdom rather than of Wiſe; and having firſt introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever ſince in the World: Of theſe Two Mighty Men remain no Writings at all, for thoſe Golden Verſes, that go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, are generally rejected as ſpurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybils* or Old Poets, and ſome intire Poems that run with Ancient Names: Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries; or whether all that learn't of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for ſome ſucceeding Ages, were not by Tradition.

But whether theſe ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philoſophers drew all thoſe Streams that have ſince watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furniſhed the Voluminous Writings of ſo many Sects, as paſſed afterwards under the common Name of Philoſophers.

As there were Guides to thoſe that we call Ancients, ſo there were others that were Guides to them, in whoſe Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flouriſhed to that Degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldæans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not ſo evident, (though I am very apt to believe it) and to moſt of theſe Regions ſome of the *Grecians* travelled, in Search of thoſe Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophiſt, *Apollonius*, (who was

was but an Ape of the Ancient Philoſophers) I ſhall only trace, thoſe of *Pythagoras*, who ſeems, of all others, to have gone the fartheſt upon this Deſign, and to have brought home the greateſt Treaſures. He went firſt to *Egypt*, where he ſpent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Converſation, among the ſeveral Colleges of Prieſts, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*, was initiated in all their ſeveral Myſteries, in order to gain Admittance and Inſtruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their higheſt Aſcendent. Twelve Years he ſpent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Prieſts or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans*. Beſides theſe long abodes, in thoſe Two Regions, celebrated for Ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, ſays, He gained the Obſervations of innumerable Ages, He Travelled likewiſe upon the ſame ſcent, into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were Renowned in any of theſe Regions.

What ſort of Morals, ſome of thoſe may have been, that he went ſo far to ſeek, I ſhall only endeavour to Trace out, by the moſt ancient Accounts, that

are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, ſince thoſe of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries, occur more frequent in Story. Theſe, were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaſt from any other Mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wiſdom and Nature, and to the Councel of their Princes. There was not only particular Care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them, was known to have Conceived, much Thought and Diligence was imployed about her Diet and Entertainments, ſo far, as to furniſh her with pleaſant Imaginations, to compoſe her Mind and her Sleeps, with the beſt Temper, during the Time ſhe carried her Burthen. This, I take to be a Strain, beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Conſtitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind, only after their Birth, and none before. Thoſe of the *Brachmans*, continued in the ſame Degree for their Education and Inſtruction, in which, and their Studies, and Diſcipline of their Colleges, or ſeparate Abodes in Woods and Fields, they ſpent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning

and

and Inſtitutions, were unwritten, and only traditional among themſelves, by a perpetual Succeſſion. Their Opinions in Natural Philoſophy, were, That the World was round, that it had a Beginning, and would have an End, but reckoned both by immenſe Periods of Time; That the Author of it, was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Univerſe, and was diffuſed through all the Parts of it. They held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and ſome uſed Diſcourſes of Infernal Manſions, in many things, like thoſe of *Plato*. Their Moral Philoſophy, conſiſted chiefly in preventing all Diſeaſes or Diſtempers of the Body, from which, they eſteemed the perturbation of Mind, in a great meaſure to ariſe. Then, in compoſing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſollicitous Thoughts, about Paſt and Future, to be like ſo many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They deſpiſed both life and death, pleaſure and pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Juſtice, was exact and exemplary, their Temperance ſo great, that they lived upon Rice or

Herbs, and upon nothing that had ſenſitive Life. If they fell ſick, they counted it ſuch a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently dye, out of Shame and Sullenneſs, but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and ſome Two Hundred Years.

Their Wiſdom was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome of them were always imployed to follow the Courts of their Kings, to adviſe them upon all Occaſions, and inſtruct them in Juſtice and Piety; and upon this Regard, *Calanus*, and ſome others, are ſaid to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conqueſt of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are ſo wonderful, that they muſt either be wholly disbelieved, or will make eaſie way, for the Credit of all thoſe, that we ſo often meet with, in the latter Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the reſt, their Fortitude was moſt admirable in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; ſome ſtanding, ſitting, lying, without any Motion, whole days together in the ſcorching Sun; others ſtanding whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy Piece of Wood

or

or Stone in both hands, without ever moving, (which might be done, upon ſome ſort of Penances uſual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives, by their own Choice, and not Neceſſity, and moſt uſually by Fire; ſome upon Sickneſs, others upon Misfortunes, ſome upon meer ſatiety of Life; ſo *Calanus*, in *Alexander*'s time, burnt himſelf publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the time of *Auguſtus*, upon his conſtant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living ſo long, as to fall into Diſeaſes or Misfortunes. Theſe were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the moſt Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which compared with our Modern, (ſince Navigation and Trade have diſcovered ſo much of thoſe vaſt Countries) make it eaſie to conjecture, that the preſent *Baniams* have derived from them many of their Cuſtoms and Opinions, which are ſtill very like them, after the courſe of Two Thouſand Years. For how long, Nations, without the Changes, introduced by Conqueſt, may continue in the ſame Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Opinions, will be eaſily obſerved, in the Stories of the

Peru-

Peruvians, and *Mexicans*, of the *Chineſes* and *Scythians*: Theſe laſt, being deſcribed by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time, in many Parts of thoſe vaſt *Northern* Regions.

From theſe Famous *Indians*, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that *Pythagoras* learn'd, and tranſported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greateſt Part of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, rather than from the *Ægyptians*, as is commonly ſuppoſed: For I have not obſerved, any mention of the Tranſmigration of Souls, held among the *Egyptians*, more ancient than the time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus* is ſaid to have brought out of *Egypt*, all his Myſtical Theology, with the Stories of the *Stygian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up by the ſucceeding Poets (with a mixture of the *Cretan* Tales, or Traditions) into that part of the *Pagan* Religion, ſo long obſerved by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Tranſmigration

migration, which, though it was preſerved long, among ſome of the ſucceeding Philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely, that the *Egyptians* themſelves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*, for they are obſerved, in ſome Authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and Chronologers, I think, agree, that theſe were a Colony, that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themſelves upon that Part of *Africa*, which from their Name, was afterward called *Æthiopia*, and in probability, brought their Learning and their Cuſtoms with them. The *Phœnicians* are likewiſe ſaid to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themſelves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence ſpread ſo far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To ſtrengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from ſuch remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be aſſerted with great Evidence, that though

though we know little of the Anti-
quities of *India*, beyond *Alexander's*
time; yet thoſe of *China* are the
oldeſt that any where pretend to any
fair Records: For theſe are agreed
by the Miſſionary Jeſuits, to extend
ſo far above Four Thouſand Years;
and with ſuch Appearance of clear and
undeniable Teſtimonies, that thoſe Re-
ligious Men themſelves, rather than
queſtion their Truth, by finding them
contrary to the vulgar Chronology
of the Scripture, are content to have
recourſe to that of the *Septuagint*,
and thereby, to ſalve the Appearan-
ces, in thoſe Records of the *Chineſes*.
Now though we have been deprived
the knowledge of what Courſe Learn-
ing may have held, and to what height
it may have ſoared, in that vaſt Regi-
on, and during ſo great Antiquity of
time, by reaſon of the Savage Ambi-
on of one of their Kings, who deſirous
to begin the Period of Hiſtory, from
his own Reign, ordered all Books to be
burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Ag-
griculture; ſo that, what we have re-
maining beſides, of that wiſe and an-
cient Nation, is but what was either
by Chance, or by private Induſtry, re-
cue

ued out of that publick Calamity among which, were a Copy of the Records and Succeſſions of the Crown); yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently divided into Two Sects, whereof one held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Maſs of Metal, out of which ſome Parts are continually made up into a Thouſand various Figures, and after certain Periods, Melted down again into the ſame Maſs. That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philoſophy among them: That near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the ſame Deſign, of reclaiming Men from the uſeleſs and endleſs Speculations of Nature, to thoſe of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian* ſeemed to be chiefly upon the Happineſs of Private Men or Families, but that of the *Chineſe*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of ſuch Kingdoms or Governments as that was, and is known to have continued for ſeveral Thouſands

Thouſands of Years; and may be properly called, a Government of Learned Men, ſince no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in theſe Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn'd the firſt Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy; but that thoſe of *Democritus* (who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Chaldea*, and *India*, and whoſe Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the ſame Fountains, and that long before them both, *Lycurgus*, who likewiſe Travelled into *India*, brought from thence alſo, the chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, ſo much Renowned in the World.

For whoever obſerves the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian* and *Chineſe* Learning and Opinions, will eaſily find among them the Seeds of all theſe *Grecian* Productions and Inſtitutions: As the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Virtues. The long Silence injoined his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters, and Abſtinence from all Meats

that

hat had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*. The Eternity of Matter, ith perpetual Changes of Form, the ndolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among thoſe f *Lycurgus*; the care of Education om the Birth of Children, the *Auſtere* Temperance of Diet, the patient endu- ance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or ontempt of Life, the uſe of Gold and ilver only in their Temples, the Defence f Commerce with Strangers, and ſe- eral others, by him eſtabliſhed among he *Spartans*, ſeem all to be wholly *In- ian*, and different from any Race r Vein of Thought and Imagination, hat have ever appeared in *Greece*, either n that Age or any ſince.

It may look like a Paradox, to de- uce Learning from Regions account- d commonly ſo barbarous and rude. nd 'tis true, the generality of People ere always ſo, in thoſe *Eaſtern* Coun- ies, and their Lives wholly turned to griculture, to Mechanicks, or to rades: But this does not hinder articular Races or Succeſſions of Men, the deſign of whoſe Thought and Time, as turned wholly to Learning and nowledge) from having been what they

they are repreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themſelves, there have been ſuch Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Beſides, I know no Circumſtances, like to Contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning among Men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureneſs of Air, and equality of Clymate, long Tranquility of Empire or Government: And all theſe we may juſtly allow to thoſe *Eaſtern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the Conqueſts made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the latter Centuries. However, it may be as pardonable, to derive ſome Parts of Learning from thence, as to go ſo far, for the Game of *Cheſs*, which ſome Curious and Learned Men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by two ſeveral Roads, that is, by *Perſia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome Idea of what thoſe Sages or Learned

Men

Men were, or may have been, who were Ancients to thoſe that are Ancients to us. Now to obſerve what theſe have been, is more eaſie and obvious. The moſt Ancient *Grecians* that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philoſopher as well as Law-giver, were the ſeven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Cræſus*, is ſaid to have been much reſorted to, by the Sophiſts of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of his Reign. And ſome of theſe ſeven, ſeem to have brought moſt of the Sciences out of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*; particularly thoſe of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. Theſe were ſoon followed, by *Pythagoras*, (who ſeems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all theſe, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; ſo that *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the firſt *Philoſophers*, whoſe Works have eſcaped the Injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt Writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the firſt Learned or Wiſe among them; We ſhall find upon inquiry, that the more

ancient Sages of *Greece*, appear by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo, either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral Inſtitutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Phyſicians; they were ſo learned in Natural Philoſophy, that they fore-told not only Eclipſes in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain ſorts of Fruits or Grain; not to mention the Magical Powers attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay Storms, to raiſe Gales, to appeaſe Commotions of People, to make Plagues ceaſe; which Qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed, muſt have raiſed them to that ſtrange height they were at, of common Eſteem and Honour, in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients may have had the greater and the be-

ter Guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more Application in the Purſuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the Advantages we have, from thoſe we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like thoſe of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in ſome ſingle men, rather than by any derived ſtrength among them, however increaſed by Succeſſion; and whether they may not have been the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the Improvements of Art. Thus the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greateſt Recorded in Story, were at their heighth, in thoſe Perſons that began them; and ſo far from being increaſed by their Succeſſors, that they were not preſerved in their extent and vigor by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many, that ſet

up for great Princes, out of ſeveral ſmall ruins of the firſt Empires, till they withered away in time, or were loſt by the change of Names, and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Juſt the ſame Fate ſeems to have attended the higheſt flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Regiſters. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, were the firſt mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater Progreſſes in the ſeveral Empires of Science, than any of their Succeſſors have been ſince able to reach. Theſe have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compaſs that it ſelf, they have ſet up for Authors, upon ſome Parcels of thoſe great Stocks, or elſe have contented themſelves only to comment upon thoſe Texts, and make the beſt Copies they could, after thoſe Originals.

I have long thought, that the different Abilities of Men, which we call Wiſdom or Prudence, for the Conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect

tellect or Good Senſe, which they bring with them into the World; and that the Defect of it in Men, comes from ſome Want in their Conception or Birth.

——*Dixitq; ſemel Naſcentibus Author.*
Quicquid ſcire licet ——

And though this may be improved or impaired in ſome Degree, by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Converſation and Buſineſs, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can, beyond the Period to which it was deſtined, by the Strength or Weakneſs of the ſeminal Virtue.

If theſe Speculations ſhould be true, then I know not what Advantages we can pretend to Modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients; Nay, 'tis poſſible, Men may loſe rather than gain by them; may leſſen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others; may have leſs Knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a Man that only Tranſlates,

ſhall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that truſt wholly to others Charity, and without Induſtry of their own, will be always poor. Beſides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a Man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the weight and number of ſo many other Mens thoughts and notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all Invention ariſes; As heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes, and ſometimes quite extinguiſhes a little Spark that would otherwiſe have grown up to a noble Flame. The ſtrength of mind as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of Exerciſe, than of Cloaths; nay, too much of this Foreign heat, rather makes Men faint, and their Conſtitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are ſtill ſo, though we ſtand upon a Gyant's ſhoulders; and even ſo placed, yet we ſee leſs than he, if we are naturally

turally ſhorter ſighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazled with the height, which often happens from weakneſs either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and ſtature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common productions are of indifferent ſizes, that occaſion no gazing nor no wonder; But tho' there are or have been ſometimes Dwarfs and ſometimes Gyants in the World, yet it does not follow, that there muſt be ſuch in every Age nor in every Country: This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, becauſe there are none now, at leaſt in the compaſs of our preſent Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at ſome time, and ſome place or other in the World, of ſuch a ſtature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in ſeveral Thouſands of Years, or in any other Parts; ſo there may be Gyants in Wit and Knowledge, of ſo over-grown a ſize, as not to be equalled again in many ſucceſſions of Ages, or any compaſs of Place or Country. Such, I am ſure, *Lucretius* eſteems and deſcribes *Epicurus* to have been,

and to have riſen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, ſuch as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the Ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their Kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Becauſe there is a Stag's Head at *Amboyſe*, of a moſt prodigious ſize, and a large Table at *Memorancy*, cut out of the thickneſs of a Vine-ſtock, is it neceſſary, that there muſt be, every Age, ſuch a Stag in every great Foreſt, or ſuch a Vine in every large Vineyard; or that the Productions of Nature in any kind, muſt be ſtill alike, or ſomething near it, becauſe Nature is ſtill the ſame? May there not many Circumſtances concur to one Production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the growth of a Tree, there is the native Strength of the Seed, both from the Kind, and from the Perfections of its ripening, and from the Health and Vigor of the Plant that bore it. There is the Degree of Strength and Excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it firſt took Root; There is a Propriety of Soil, ſuited to the kind

of

of Tree that grows in it; there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from Accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the Kindneſs or Unkindneſs of Seaſons, till it be paſt the Need or the Danger of them. All theſe, and perhaps many others, joined with the Propitiouſneſs of Climate, to that ſort of Tree, and the length of Age, it ſhall ſtand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plain Tree, that ſhall deſerve to be renowned in Story, and ſhall not perhaps be parallel'd in other Countries or Times.

May not the ſame have happened in the Production, Growth, and Size of Wit and Genius in the World, or in ſome Parts or Ages of it, and from many more Circumſtances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the ſtupendous Growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, ſuch Prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philoſophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Phyſick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever ſince approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*; and yet their unparallel'd and inimitable Excellencies in theſe are undiſputed?

Science

Science and Arts have run their Circles, and had their Periods in the ſeveral Parts of the World; They are generally agreed, to have held their courſe from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, to have begun in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, to have been Tranſplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*; to have ſunk there, and after many Ages, to have revived from thoſe Aſhes, and to have ſprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Weſtern* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldea* and *Egypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Ægypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their Heights, in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

Theſe, and greater Changes, are made in the ſeveral Countries of the World, and courſes of time by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devaſtions of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enſlaved Nations; by the violent Inundations of Water in ſome Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others. Theſe ſorts of Accidents,

cidents, ſometimes lay them ſo waſte, that when they riſe again, 'tis from ſuch low beginnings, that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain ſhort periods of time. Thus that vaſt Continent of *Norway*, is ſaid to have been ſo wholly deſolated by a Plague, about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago, that it was for ſome Ages following, a very Deſart, and ſince all over-grown with Wood; And *Ireland* was ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the Conqueſts of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition, what that Iſland was, how Planted or Governed above Five Hundred Years ago. What Changes have been made by Violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea, in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us, of all that paſſed there, before a certain and ſhort period of time.

The Accounts of many other Countries, would perhaps, as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths

of

of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages, to which we owe all we have, of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Ægyptian*, *Syrian* and *Æthiopick*, or at least, Translated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was wherein the *Septuagint* imployed, left their Name to that Famous Translation.

'Tis very true and just, all that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in these *Western* Parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it must be at greater Height than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almoſt all Learning was buried in its Ruines: The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preſerve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did thoſe of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutiſh Rage. The *Saracens* indeed from their Conqueſts of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flouriſhed for ſome time among the *Arabians*, and has ſince been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs have been out of thoſe of the Countries they had ſubdued; for indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality, ſeem any where to have made greater Growth, in ſo ſhort a time, than in that Empire, nor to have flouriſhed more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whoſe Victorious Enſigns, *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the reſt of thoſe *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under ſo many ſeveral Names, over-

run

run all *Europe*, took very hardly, and very late any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Inſtructions of the *Romans*, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them: Thoſe *Northern* Nations were indeed eaſier induced to imbrace the Religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eaſe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conqueſts. Great numbers of the better ſort, among the Oppreſſed Natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough Maſters, betook themſelves to the Profeſſion and Aſſemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thoſe only were preſerved all the poor Remainders of Learning, in theſe ſeveral Countries.

But theſe good Men, either contented themſelves with their Devotion, or with the Eaſe of quiet Lives, or elſe imployed their Thoughts and Studies to raiſe and maintain the Eſteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Re-

poſe,

poſe, the Wealth and Honour they injoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the Greateſt Princes by the Meaneſt Prieſts, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings, fell at the Feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilſt the Clergy were buſied in theſe Thoughts or Studies, the better ſort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner ſort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Diſputes of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers; Learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the Long Robes. During this Courſe of Time, which laſted many Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* Tongue was wholly loſt, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it, was only a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that paſſed among the *Monks* and *Fryars* who were at all Learned; and among the Students of the ſeveral Univer-

Universities, which served to carry them to *Rome* in pursuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, about Two hundred Years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of those cruel Masters, made their Escapes in great numbers to the Neighbouring Parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; several that were Learned among these *Grecians*, (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in these Countries; first to gain Subsistence, and afterwards Favour in some Princes, or Great Mens Courts, who began to take a Pleasure or Pride in countenancing Learned Men. Thus began the Restoration of Learning in these Parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue; and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest Heighth of any of the Moderns before or since: The *Monkish* Latin upon this

Return

Return, was laughed out of Doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reſtitution of theſe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them, (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all Sorts began to thrive in theſe *Weſtern* Regions; and ſince that time, and in the firſt ſucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of, in ſuch a compaſs of time, conſidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I ſee no reaſon; if a Strong and Vigorous Man, at Thirty Years old, ſhould fall into a Conſumption, and ſo draw on till Fifty, in the extreameſt Weakneſs and Infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to Recover Health till Sixty, ſo as to be again as Strong, as Men uſually are at that Age; It might perhaps truly be ſaid, in that caſe, that he had grown more in Strength, that laſt Ten Years, than any others of his Life; but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vi-

gour, than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences, wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philoſophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage, for Fifteen Hundred Years paſt, unleſs *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* ſhould pretend to it, of whom I ſhall make no Critick here, but only ſay, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclipſed the Luſtre of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no Man ever diſputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of; beſides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and againſt whoſe Opinion there could, I think, never have been given ſtronger Evidence than by his own Poems, Printed together with that Treatiſe.

There is nothing new in *Aſtronomy* to vie with the Ancients, unleſs it be the *Copernican* Syſtem; nor in *Phyſick*, unleſs *Harvey*'s Circulation of the Blood. But whether either of theſe be modern Diſcoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is diſputed: Nay, it is ſo too, whether they are true or no

for though Reaſon may ſeem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet Senſe can very hardly allow them; and to ſatisfie Mankind, both theſe muſt concur. But if they are true, yet theſe two great Diſcoveries have made no Change in the Concluſions of *Aſtronomy*, nor in the Practice of Phyſick, and ſo have been of little Uſe to the World, though perhaps of much Honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Muſick, by which Men and Beaſts, Fiſhes, Fowls and Serpents, were ſo frequently Enchanted, and their very Natures changed; by which the Paſſions of Men were raiſed to the greateſt Height and Violence, and then as ſuddenly appeaſed, ſo as they might be juſtly ſaid to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art? 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Muſick, ſo admired of the Ancients, is wholly loſt in the World, and that what we have now, is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the Fancy or Obſervation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Matins. So as thoſe Two Divine Ex-

cellencies of Muſick and Poetry, are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fidling, and the other Rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the Ignorance of the Fryar, and the Barbarouſneſs of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldæans*, the *Ægyptians*, were ſo renowned, and by which Effects ſo wonderful, and to common Men ſo aſtoniſhing were produced, as made them have Recourſe to Spirits or Supernatural Powers, for ſome Account of their ſtrange Operations? By *Magick*, I mean ſome excelling Knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities, in its ſeveral Productions, and the Application of certain Agents, to certain Patients, which by Force of ſome peculiar Qualities, produce Effects very different from what fall under vulgar Obſervation or Comprehenſion. Theſe are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and ſuch like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wiſe, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idioſyncraſies*, *Taliſmans*, and ſome Scraps

or

or Terms, left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians*, of the Ancient Magick, but the Science ſeems, with ſeveral others, to be wholly loſt.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which, ſuch ſtupendous Fabricks have been raiſed of old, and ſo many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are ſo little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this Sort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mauſolus*, or *Coloſſe* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind, than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube*, ſeems to have been the laſt Flight of the Ancient Architecture? The ſtupendous Effects of this Science, ſufficiently evince, at what Heighths the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, who ever would be ſatisfied, need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuſe*, and that mighty Defence made againſt the

Roman Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almoſt Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greateſt Invention that I know of in later Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and conſequently, the greateſt Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there muſt be allowed to have been ſomething ſtupendous in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Ships and Gallies of Old; and the Skill of Pilots, from the Obſervation of the Stars in the more ſerene Climates, may be judged, by the Navigations ſo celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Diſcovery and Commerce of ſo many vaſt Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terreſtrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has ſince been ſurrounded by the Fortune and Boldneſs of ſeveral Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention,

tion, and the Conſequence thereof, it muſt be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in theſe latter Ages. The vaſt Continents of *China*, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, the long Extent and Coaſts of *Africa*, with the numberleſs Iſlands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increaſes of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge brought among us, further than the Extent and Situation of Countrey, the Cuſtoms and Manners of ſo many Original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am ſure have treated them, as if we hardly eſteem them to be a part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many Great and more Noble Uſes would have been made of ſuch Conqueſts or Diſcoveries, if they had fallen to the Share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in thoſe Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Requeſt, as endleſs Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Diſcoveries might have been made by ſuch Spirits as theirs, is hard to gueſs. I am ſure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this

Terreſtrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been purſued as far as we might juſtly have expected from the Progreſſes of Navigation, ſince the Uſe of the Compaſs, which ſeems to have been long at a ſtand. How little has been performed, of what has been ſo often, and ſo confidently promiſed, of a *North-Weſt* Paſſage to the *Eaſt* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that ſide of the *Magellan Straits*, that lie towards the *South Pole*, which may be vaſt Iſlands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Paſſage was ſo long ſince found out? Whether *Japan* be Iſland or Continent, with ſome Parts of *Tartary*, on the *North* ſide, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Tedſo*, upon the *North-Eaſt* Continent, have been no more than Coaſted, and whether they may not join to the *Northern* Continent of *America*, is by ſome doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence ſeems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond Thirty Five Degrees, and that only by the Neceſſity of doubling the Cape of *Goodhope*, in our *Eaſt-India* Voyages;

ages; yet a Continent has been long ſince found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *Eaſt*, of the *Weſt*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there muſt be a Ballance of Earth, on that ſide of the Line, in ſome Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea*, from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, ſince we have found Land to above Sixty Five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that way, have been confined to the Roads of Trade; and our Diſcoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it ſaid among the *Dutch*, that their *Eaſt-India* Company have long ſince forbidden, and under the greateſt Penalties, any further Attempts of diſcovering that Continent, having already more Trade in thoſe Parts than they can turn to Account, and fearing ſome more Populous Nation of *Europe*, might make great Eſtabliſhments of Trade in ſome of thoſe unknown

known Regions which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame ſtill in Geography it ſelf, which we might have expected to run up to ſo much greater Perfection, by the Uſe of the Compaſs, and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe Advantages we have received, from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that ſince the late Reſtoration of Learning and Arts among us, our firſt Flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindred us from riſing above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary, began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great, but ſhort Flight; ſo as for theſe laſt Hundred Years, we have not had One Maſter in either of them, who deſerved a Rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort Period, after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the ſame Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern

Learning

earning, as if the Growth of that, well as of Natural Bodies, had ſome ort Periods, beyond which it could ot reach, and after which, it muſt egin to decay. It falls in one Coun- ey or one Age, and riſes again in hers, but never beyond a certain itch. One Man, or one Countrey, a certain Time runs a great Length ſome certain Kinds of Knowledge, t loſe as much Ground in others, that ere perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. here is a certain Degree of Capacity the greateſt Veſſel, and when 'tis ll, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run t ſome way or other, and the more runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs t at the other. So the greateſt Me- ory, after a certain Degree, as it arns or retains more of ſome Things Words, loſes and forgets as much of hers. The largeſt and deepeſt Reach Thought, the more it purſues ſome rtain Subjects, the more it neglects hers.

Beſides, few Men or none excel in l Faculties of Mind. A great Me- ory may fail of Invention, both may ant Judgment to Digeſt or Apply hat they Remember or Invent, Great Courage

Courage may want Caution, great Pru-
dence may want Vigor, yet all are
neceſſary to make a great Comman-
der. But how can a Man hope to
excel in all Qualities, when ſome are
produced by the Heat, others by the
Coldneſs of Brain and Temper? The
Abilities of Man muſt fall ſhort on one
ſide or other, like too ſcanty a Blan-
ket when you are a-bed, if you pull
it upon your Shoulders, you leave your
Feet bare; if you thruſt it down upon
your Feet, your Shoulders are uncov-
vered.

But what would we have, unleſs it
be other Natures and Beings than God
Almighty has given us? The Height
of our Statures may be Six or Seven
Foot, and we would have it Sixteen;
the Length of our Age may reach to
a Hundred Years, and we would have
it a Thouſand. We are born to grov-
vel upon the Earth, and we would
fain ſore up to the Skies. We cannot
comprehend the Growth of a Ker-
nel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or
Bee, we are amazed at the Wiſdom of
the one, and Induſtry of the other, and
yet we will know the Subſtance, the
Figure, the Courſes, the Influences of

ll thoſe Glorious Cœleſtial Bodies, and
he End for which they were made;
e pretend to give a clear Account
ow Thunder and Lightning (that
reat Artillery of God Almighty) is
roduced, and we cannot comprehend
ow the Voice of a Man is framed,
hat poor little noiſe we make every
me we ſpeak. The Motion of the
un, is plain and evident to ſome A-
ronomers, and of the Earth to others,
et we none of us know, which of
hem moves, and meet with many
eming Impoſſibilities in both, and be-
ond the Fathom of Human Reaſon or
Comprehenſion. Nay, we do not ſo
uch as know what Motion is, nor
ow a Stone moves from our Hand,
hen we throw it croſs the Street. Of
ll theſe that moſt Ancient and Divine
Vriter, gives the beſt Account in that
hort Satyr, *Vain Man would fain be*
iſe, when he is born like a Wild Aſs's
Colt.

But God be thanked, his Pride is
reater than his Ignorance; and what
e wants in Knowledge, he ſupplies by
ufficiency. When he has looked about
im as far as he can, he concludes there
s no more to be ſeen; when he is at
the

the End of his Line, he is at the Bot-
tom of the Ocean; when he has ſho
his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did no
ever can ſhoot better or beyond it
His own Reaſon is the certain meaſure
of Truth, his own Knowledge, of wha
is poſſible in Nature, though his Mind
and his Thoughts change every Seven
Years, as well as his Strength and hi
Features; nay, though his Opinion
change every Week or every Day, ye
he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, tha
his preſent Thoughts and Concluſion
are juſt and true, and cannot be de-
ceived; And among all the Miſeries
to which Mankind is born and ſubje-
cted, in the whole Courſe of his Life
he has this one Felicity to Comfor
and Support him, That in all Ages, i
all Things, every Man is always in the
right. A Boy of Fifteen is wiſer tha
his Father at Forty, the meaneſt Sub-
ject than his Prince or Governours; and
the Modern Scholars, becauſe they hav
for a Hundred Years paſt, learned their
Leſſon pretty well, are much more
knowing than the Ancients their Ma-
ſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by
good Reaſons, Is it ſo by Experience
too?

too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Greſham* College, or the late Academies of *Paris*, out-ſhined or eclipſed the *Lycæum* of *Plato*, the Academy of *Ariſtotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Harvey* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D' Avila's* and *Strada's* Hiſtories beyond thoſe of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond thoſe of *Cæſar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above thoſe of *Virgil*? If all this muſt be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended; and the Modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reaſonably ſaid, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; A *Welſh* or *Iriſh* Harp excels thoſe of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; The Pyramid in *London*, thoſe of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders* are greater than thoſe of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, as their Operas and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Conſideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it ſelf. For the Books we have in Proſe, Do any of

of the modern we converſe with, appear of ſuch a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancients have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our Knowledge or Inventions would deſerve it, yet our Languages would not; there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former Stiles to be endured by the latter; ſo as they can no more laſt like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood, like thoſe in Marble or Braſs.

The three modern Tongues moſt eſteemed, are *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *French*, all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; firſt mingled and corrupted with the harſh Words and Terminations of thoſe many different and barbarous Nations, by whoſe Invaſions and Excurſions, the *Roman* Empire was long infeſted: They were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral Languages, by long and Popular Uſe, out of thoſe Ruins and Corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of thoſe Nations to which theſe ſeveral Provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſubjected

jected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) beſides a Mingle of thoſe Tongues, which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments there. Of theſe, there may be ſome Remainders in *Biſcay* or the *Aſturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the Subjection there having been more univerſal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find, the Mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain*, were ever wholly ſubdued, or formerly Governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conqueſts in our Iſlands, which has preſerved the ancient *Biſcayn* and *Britiſh* more intire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conqueſts reached, and were for any time Eſtabliſhed.

'Tis eaſie to imagine, how imperfect Copies theſe modern Languages, thus compoſed, muſt needs be, of ſo excellent an Original, being patcht up but of the Conceptions as well as Sounds, of ſuch barbarous or inſlaved

People. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated by the Thoughts and Uſes of the Nobleſt Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and inriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to conteſt it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and muſt ever be, between the Thoughts and Words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a Difference this muſt make in the Compariſon and Excellence of Books; and how eaſie and juſt a Preference it muſt decree to thoſe of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the Modern Languages.

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldeſt Books we have, are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt ancient, that I know of in Proſe, among thoſe we call Profane Authors, are *Æſop*'s Fables, and *Phalaris*'s Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the firſt has been agreed by all Ages ſince, for the greateſt Maſter in his kind, and all others of that Sort have been but Imitati-

ons

ons of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of *Phalaris*, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either Ancient or Modern. I know ſeveral Learned Men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the Name of Criticks) have not eſteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with ſome others, have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think, he muſt have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; ſuch Diverſity of Paſſions, upon ſuch Variety of Actions and Paſſages of Life and Government, ſuch Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honour of Learned Men, ſuch Eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledge of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be repreſented, but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of Writing, than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

The next to theſe in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucidides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Ariſtotle*; of whom I ſhall ſay no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their ſeveral kinds, inimitable. So are *Cæſar*, *Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancienteſt of the Latin, (I ſpeak ſtill of Proſe) unleſs it be ſome little of old *Cato*, upon Ruſtick Affairs.

The Heighth and Purity of the *Roman* Stile, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; ſo it ended about that of *Tiberius*; and the laſt Strain of it ſeems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* laſted a great deal longer, and muſt be allowed till *Trajan*'s Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whoſe Greek is much more eſtimable, than the Latin of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this laſt, I know none that deſerves the Name of *Latin*, in compariſon of what went before them, eſpecially in the *Auguſtan* Age; If any, 'tis the little Treatiſe of *Minutius Fœlix*. All Latin Books that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all Greek till

till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very eſtimable Value. All written ſince that time, ſeem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events, we are glad to know, or the Controverſie of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the buſie World has been ſo much imployed.

The great Wits among the Moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their ſeveral Kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes*, (that writ *Don Quixot*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *Engliſh*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Pens have been moſt Converſant, and moſt Excelled. The Modern *French*, are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt*'s Memoirs, *Buſſy*'s *Amours de Gaul*, with ſeveral other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleaſant and entertaining, and ſeem to have Refined the *French* Language to a Degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does

in all Works, that the more they are filed and poliſhed, the leſs they have of Weight and of Strength; and as that Language has much more Fineneſs and Smoothneſs at this time, ſo I take it to have had much more Force, Spirit and Compaſs, in *Montagne's* Age.

Since thoſe Accidents, which contributed to the Reſtoration of Learning, almoſt extinguiſhed in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, have been obſerved, it will be juſt to mention ſome that may have hindred the Advancement of it, in Proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty Growth and Progreſs made in the firſt Age after its Recovery. One great Reaſon may have been, that very ſoon after the Entry of Learning upon the Scene of Chriſtendom, another was made by many of the New-Learned Men, into the Inquiries and Conteſts about Matters of Religion; the Manners and Maxims, and Inſtitutions introduced by the Clergy, for Seven or Eight Centuries paſt; the Authority of Scripture and Tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the Ancient Fathers, and of the Later School-Men and Caſuiſts;

Caſuiſts; of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power. The Humour of ravelling into all theſe Myſtical or Intangled Matters, mingling with the Intereſts and Paſſions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightned or enflamed, produced Infinite Diſputes, raiſed Violent Heats throughout all Parts of Chriſtendom, and ſoon ended in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in ſeveral new Inſtitutions, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in divers Countries; which have been ſince Rooted and Eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the *North Weſt* Parts. The endleſs Diſputes and litigious Quarrels upon all theſe Subjects, favoured and incouraged by the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes ingaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the Endeavours of all or moſt of the Fineſt Wits, the Deepeſt Scholars, and the moſt Learned Writers that the Age produced. Many Excellent Spirits, and the moſt Penetrating *Genii*, that might have made admirable Progreſſes and Advances in many other Sciences, were ſunk and overwhelmed in the Abyſs of Diſputes

about Matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other way. To these Disputes of the Pen, succeeded those of the Sword; and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the Pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years past, infested Christendom with almost a perpetual Course or Succession, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars: The Noise and Disorders thereof, have been ever the most Capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated by the Ancient Fables, upon the Top of *Parnassus*; that is, in a Place of Safety and of Quiet, from the Reach of all Noises and Disturbances of the Regions below.

Another Circumstance that may have hindred the Advancement of Learning, has been a Want or Decay of Favour in Great Kings and Princes, to Encourage or Applaud it. Upon the first Return or Recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of Seeing her, apt to Applaud her: She was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells; and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age, took either a Pleasure in courting her, or a Vanity in admiring her,

her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes*, and of *Emperors*, thought themſelves Honoured and Adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned Men, and by all the Improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Uſe and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Inſtruction of Young Princes, for Advice and Aſſiſtance to the greateſt Miniſters; and in ſhort, the Favour of Learning was the Humor and Mode of the Age. *Francis* the Firſt, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (thoſe Three Great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing elſe. Many Nobles purſued this Vein with great Application and Succeſs; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had laſted as long as thoſe of the Ancients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in Admiration of ſo much Knowledge in ſo much Youth.

Since

Since thoſe Reigns I have not obſerved in our Modern Story, any Great Princes much celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to ſerve their Turns, to juſtifie their Pretenſions and Quarrels, or flatter their Succeſſes. The Honour of Princes has of late ſtruck Sale to their Intereſt; whereas of old, their Intereſts, Greatneſs and Conqueſts, were all dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned Men, muſt have been damped for want of this Influence and kind Aſpect of Princes, may be beſt conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *Auguſtan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its Height, and perhaps owed it in ſome Degree, to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecœnas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquility of the Age.

The Humor of Avarice, and Greedineſs of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price, and of current Uſe: But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches increaſe, the Deſires of them

em do ſo too, May it not be true,
the general Vein and Humor of
ges? May they not have turned
ore to this Purſuit of inſatiable Gains,
ce the Diſcoveries and Plantations
the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe vaſt
reaſures that have flowed in to theſe
eſtern Parts of *Europe* almoſt every
ear, and with ſuch mighty Tides
r ſo long a Courſe of Time? Where
w are Rich, few care for it; where
any are ſo, many deſire it; and moſt
time begin to think it neceſſary.
here this Opinion grows generally in
Country, the Temples of Honour are
on pulled down, and all Mens Sacri-
ces are made to thoſe of Fortune.
he Soldier as well as the Merchant,
e Scholar as well as the Plough-
an, the Divine and the States-man,
well as the Lawyer and Phyſician.

Now I think that nothing is more
ident in the World, than that Honour
a much ſtronger Principle, both of
ction and Invention, than Gain can
ver be. That all the Great and No-
le Productions of Wit and of Cou-
ge, have been inſpired and exalted
y that alone. That the Charming
lights and Labours of Poets, the Deep

Spe-

Speculations and Studies of Philoſophers, the Conqueſts of Emperors and Atchievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The laſt Farewel that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philoſophy, *Auguſtus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the ſame Strain; and as their Lives were entertained, ſo their Age was relieved, and their Deaths ſoftned, by the Proſpect of lieing down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is on the other ſide, of all Paſſions, the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with Dirt and with Droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its Wings beyond the Smell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of Common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders; and yet among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far upon the Hopes of Prey or of Spoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no Wonder then, that Learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be Mercenary, and the Progreſs of it has been fettered by the Cares of the World, and diſturbed by the Deſires of being Rich, or the

Fears

ars of being poor; from all which, e Ancient *Philoſophers*, the *Brachmans India*, the *Chaldæan Magi*, and *Egyptian* Prieſts were diſintangled and ee.

But the laſt Maim given to Learn-g, has been by the Scorn of Pedan-y, which the Shallow, the Superfici- and the Sufficient among Scholars, ſt drew upon themſelves, and very ſtly, by pretending to more than ey had, or to more Eſteem than what ey had could deſerve, by broach-g it in all Places, at all Times, up-all Occaſions, and by living ſo uch among themſelves, or in their loſets and Cells, as to make them nfit for all other Buſineſs, and ridi-lous in all other Converſations. As Infection that riſes in a Town, firſt lls upon Children or weak Conſtitu-ons, or thoſe that are ſubject to other iſeaſes, but ſpreading further by de-rees, ſeizes upon the moſt Healthy, Vi-orous and Strong; and when the ontagion grows very general, all the eighbours avoid coming into the own, or are afraid of thoſe that are well mong them, as much as of thoſe that re Sick. Juſt ſo it fared in the Com-

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monwealth of Learning, ſome poor weak Conſtitutions were firſt infected with Pedantry, the Contagion ſpread in time upon ſome that were ſtronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the Commerce of the Sound as well as of the Diſeaſed. This Diſlike or Apprehenſion, turned, like all Fear, to Hatred, and Hatred to Scorn. The reſt of the Neighbours began firſt to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the ſame Fate, and that the Pigeons ſhould be taken for Daws, becauſe they were all in a Flock: And becauſe the Pooreſt and Meaneſt of the Company were Proud, the Beſt and the Richeſt began to be Aſhamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Bruſſels*, would needs have it, that the Hiſtory of *Don Quixot*, had ruined the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; for before that time, Love and Valour, were all Romance among them; every young Cavalier that entred the Scene, dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour firſt, and then to his Miſtreſs. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his laſt *Portugal* Expedition,

ition, had a young Miſtreſs, to whom he Glory of that Atchievement was Devoted, by which he hoped to value imſelf, inſtead of thoſe Qualities he ad loſt with his Youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humor, turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at leaſt otherwiſe, than to purſue their Fortune, or ſatisfie their Luſt; and the Conſequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have paſs for a great Cauſe of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatneſs and Power.

Whatever Effect the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Commonwealth of Learning; and I wiſh the Vein of Ridiculing all that is Serious and Good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worſe Effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Climate, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage; enters a Houſe of

of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a *Coffee*-Houſe, Debates of Council as well as private Converſation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Miniſters of State, that would rather have ſaid a Witty thing, than done a Wiſe one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuſe the Imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to cenſure the Sufficiency of ſome of the Learned; and this ſmall Piece of Juſtice I have done the Ancients, will not I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any Injury to the Moderns.

I ſhall conclude with a Saying of *Alphonſus* (Sirnamed the Wiſe) King of *Aragon*;

That among ſo many things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are Bawbles, beſides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converſe with, and Old Books to Read.

ESSAY

ESSAY II.

Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; *or of Gardening in the Year* 1685.

THE ſame Faculty of Reaſon, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the reſt of the Creation, ſeems to make the greateſt Default of Human Nature; and ſubjects it to more Troubles, Miſeries, or at leaſt Diſquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: 'Tis this furniſhes us with ſuch Variety of Paſſions, and conſequently of Wants and Deſires, that none other feels; and theſe followed by infinite Deſigns and endleſs Purſuits, and improved by that Reſtleſneſs of Thought, which is natural to moſt Men, give Him a Condition of Life ſuitable to that of His Birth; ſo that as He alone is born Crying, He lives Complaining, and dies Diſappointed.

Since we cannot eſcape the Purſuit of Paſſions, and Perplexity of Thoughts,

which our Reaſon furniſhes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to ſubdue or to divert them. This laſt is the common Buſineſs of common Men, who ſeek it by all Sorts of Sports, Pleaſures, Play or Buſineſs. But becauſe the two firſt are of ſhort Continuance, ſoon ending with Wearineſs, or Decay of Vigor and Appetite, the Return whereof muſt be attended, before the others can be renewed; and becauſe Play grows dull, if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diverſion of Mankind ſeems to be Buſineſs, or the Purſuit of Riches in one Kind or other; which is an Amuſement that has this one Advantage above all others, that it laſts thoſe Men who engage in it, to the very Ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Deſires of increaſing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himſelf, his Friends, or his Poſterity.

In the firſt and moſt ſimple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of Men ſeem to have been very near of Kin with the reſt of the Creatures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and ſatisfied their Appetite with what they could get, from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they

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were hungry or dry; then, with what Fish, Fowl, or Beasts they could kill, by Swiftness or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands or such Instruments as Wit helped, or Necessity forced them to invent. When a Man had got enough for the Day, he laid up the rest for the Morrow, and spent one Day in Labour, that he might pass the other at Ease; and lured on by the Pleasure of this Bait, when he was in Vigor, and his Game fortunate, he would provide for as many Days as he could, both for himself and his Children, that were too young to seek out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of Grain, and by Pasture of the tamer Cattel, to provide for the whole Year. After this, dividing the Lands necessary for these Uses, first among Children, and then among Servants, he reserved to himself a Proportion of their Gain, either in the native Stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the Use of Money; and where this once came in, none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his Family, and all his and their Posterity for ever; so that I know a certain Lord who professes to value no Lease, though for an Hundred or a Thousand Years, nor any

Eſtate or Poſſeſſion of Land, that is not for Ever and Ever.

From ſuch ſmall Beginnings have grown ſuch vaſt and extravagant Deſigns of poor Mortal Men: Yet none could ever anſwer the Naked Indian, Why one Man ſhould take Pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be ſafe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no Care for to Morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, ſeems but to reduce Mankind to their Natural and Original Condition of Life. However, by theſe Ways and Degrees, the endleſs Increaſe of Riches ſeems to be grown the perpetual and general Amuſement, or Buſineſs of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make thoſe higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to theſe Ends ſacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor buſies Men more, than theſe Purſuits, which are uſually covered with the Pretences of ſerving a Man's Country, and of Publick Good. But the true Service of the Publick, is a Buſineſs of ſo much Labour and ſo much Care, that though a good and wiſe Man may not refuſe it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his Country,

Country, and thinks he can be of more than Vulgar Uſe, yet he will ſeldom or never ſeek it, but leaves it commonly to Men, who under the Diſguiſe of Publick Good, purſue their own Deſigns of Wealth, Power, and ſuch Baſtard Honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true Reward of Virtue.

The Purſuits of Ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of Riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to Live and Reign without any further Deſires or Fears, falls into the Life of a Private Man, and enjoys but thoſe Pleaſures and Entertainments, which a great many ſeveral Degrees of Private Fortune will allow, and as much as Human Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleaſures of the Senſes grow a little more choice and refined; thoſe of Imagination are turned upon embelliſhing the Scenes he chuſes to live in; Eaſe, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are ſought in Building firſt, and then in furniſhing Houſes or Palaces: The admirable Imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Ta-

peſtry, and other ſuch Atchievments of Arts. And the moſt exquiſite Delights of Senſe are purſued, in the Contrivance and Plantation of Gardens; which, with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Muſick of Birds that frequent ſuch happy Places, ſeem to furniſh all the Pleaſures of the ſeveral Senſes, and with the Greateſt, or at leaſt the moſt Natural Perfections.

Thus the firſt Race of *Aſſyrian* Kings, after the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, paſſed their Lives till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till depoſed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus paſſed the latter Parts of thoſe Great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Auguſtus*, *Diocleſian*. Thus turned the Great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the Preſent King of *Morocco*, after having ſubdued all his Competitors, paſſes his Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-Trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Succeſſes of his Councils or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of his preſent Greatneſs and Power, when he gives himſelf Leiſure from ſuch Deſigns or Purſuits, paſſes the ſofter and

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easier Parts of his Time in Country Houses and Gardens, in Building, Planting, or Adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of such kind of Lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented not themselves with these Pleasures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilst Mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that Part of them, who have had either the Justice or the Luck, to pass in common Opinion for the Wisest and the Best Part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and instead of the common Designs of satisfying their Appetites and their Passions, and making endless Provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the Ease and Felicity of Life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their Passions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature seems only to ask and to need. And this Design seems to have brought Philosophy into the World, at least that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End,

not only desirable by every Man, which is the Ease and Happiness of Life, but also in some Degree suitable to the Force and Reach of Human Nature: For as to that Part of Philosophy, which is called Natural, I know no End it can have, but that of either busying a Man's Brains to no Purpose, or satisfying the Vanity, so natural to most Men, of distinguishing themselves by some way or other, from those that seem their Equals in Birth, and the common Advantages of it; and whether this Distinction be made by Wealth or Power, or Appearance of Knowledge, which gains Esteem and Applause in the World, is all a case. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the Progress of Natural Philosophy, during so many Ages it has had Vogue in the World, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the Civilized Nations, more than those we call Barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than our selves.

How ancient this Natural Philosophy has been in the World, is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philosophers in this kind, among the most

moſt ancient now extant with us. The firſt who found out the Vanity of it, ſeems to have been *Solomon*, of which Diſcovery he has left ſuch admirable Strains in *Eccleſiaſtes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the Buſineſs of his Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its place, to buſie Human Minds to better purpoſe. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what theſe two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have ſaid upon the Vanity of all that Mortal Man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals, or Operations, may ſave himſelf a great deal of Pains, and juſtly conclude, That the Knowledge of ſuch things is not our Game; and (like the Purſuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may ſerve to amuſe and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think thoſe Three I have named, may juſtly paſs for the wiſeſt Triumvirate that are left us, upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in Writing, many Sects of Philoſophers began to ſpread in *Greece*, who entred boldly upon both Parts of Natural and Moral Philoſophy. The firſt with the greateſt Diſagreement, and the moſt eager Contention that could be upon the great-

greateſt Subjects: As, Whether the World were Eternal, or produced at ſome certain time? Whether if produced, it was by ſome Eternal Mind, and to ſome End, or by the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms, or ſome Particles of Eternal Matter? Whether there was one World or many? Whether the Soul of Man was a Part of ſome Æthereal and Eternal Subſtance, or was Corporeal? Whether if Eternal, it was ſo before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the ſame Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Cœleſtial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senſes. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, *Des Cartes*, *Hobbs*, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one thing, which is, the Want of Demonſtration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed Man; and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raiſe or defend them; like Juglers Tricks, that have more or leſs Appearance of being real, according to the Dextrouſneſs and Skill of him that plays 'em; whereas

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perhaps if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, these fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great Distance from the Mark; it may be none in Sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such Disputes and Contentions in their Natural Philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their Moral; and upon their Enquiries after the Ultimate End of Man, which was his Happiness, their Contentions or Differences seem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Sense of their Opinions, or in the true Meaning of their several Authors or Masters of their Sects: All concluded, that Happiness was the Chief Good, and ought to be the Ultimate End of Man; that as this was the End of Wisdom, so Wisdom was the Way to Happiness. The Question then was, In what this Happiness consisted? The Contention grew warmest between the Stoicks and Epicureans; the other Sects in this Point siding in a manner with one or the other of these, in their Conceptions or Expressions. The Stoicks would have it to consist in Virtue, and the Epicureans in Pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoicks, made the Pleasure of Virtue to

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be the greateſt Happineſs; and the beſt of the Epicureans made the greateſt Pleaſure to conſiſt in Virtue; and the Difference between theſe two, ſeems not eaſily diſcovered: All agreed, the greateſt Temper, if not the total ſubduing of Paſſion, and exerciſe of Reaſon, to be the State of the greateſt Felicity: To live without Deſires or Fears, or thoſe Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Paſſions raiſe: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much; and true Pleaſure in Temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the Senſes: To live with Indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Conſtancy upon the greateſt Blows of Fate or of Chance; not to diſturb our Minds with ſad Reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to diſquiet Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Deſires of Life: but in both, and in all things elſe, to follow Nature, ſeem to be the Precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus Reaſon ſeems only to have been called in, to allay thoſe Diſorders which it ſelf had raiſed, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other way, than by rendring us inſenſible.

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This at leaſt was the Profeſſion of many rigid Stoicks, who would have had a wiſe Man, not only without any ſort of Paſſion, but without any Senſe of Pain, as well as Pleaſure; and to enjoy himſelf in the midſt of Diſeaſes and Torments, as well as of Health and Eaſe: A Principle, in my Mind, againſt common Nature and common Senſe; and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with leſs Circumſtance, that a Man to be wiſe, ſhould not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been eaſie enough to believe, but nothing ſo hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expreſſion, when they placed a Man's Happineſs in the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are compoſed of both, I doubt both muſt have a Share in the Good or Ill we feel. As Men of ſeveral Languages, ſay the ſame things in very different Words, ſo in ſeveral Ages, Countries, Conſtitutions of Laws and Religion, the ſame thing ſeems to be meant by very different Expreſſions: What is called by the Stoicks Apathy, or Diſpaſſion; by the Scepticks Indiſturbance; by the Moliniſts Quietiſm; by common Men, Peace of Conſcience; ſeems all to mean but great

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Tranquility of Mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe Cauſes, as Human Wiſdom, Innocence of Life, or Reſignation to the Will of God. An old Uſurer had the ſame Notion when he ſaid, No Man could have Peace of Conſcience, that run out of his Eſtate; not comprehending what elſe was meant by that Phraſe, beſides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to be the beſt Account that can be given of the Happineſs of Man, ſince no Man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondred, how ſuch ſharp and violent Invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed him, whoſe Admirable Wit, Felicity of Expreſſion, Excellency of Nature, Sweetneſs of Converſation, Temperance of Life, and Conſtancy of Death, made him ſo beloved by his Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injuſtice may be faſtned chiefly upon the Envy and Malignity of the Stoicks at firſt, then upon the Miſtakes of ſome groſs Pretenders to his Sect, (who took Pleaſure only to be ſenſual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the Primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his Principles

of Natural Philoſophy, more oppoſite to thoſe of our Religion, than either the *Platoniſts*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themſelves: Yet, I confeſs, I do not know why the Account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, ſhould be thought more Impious, than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only ſubject to all the weakeſt Paſſions, but perpetually buſie in all the worſt or meaneſt Actions of Men.

But *Epicurus* has found ſo great Advocates of his Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Teſtimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone, ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the Aſſiſtance of Modern Authors: If all failed, he would be but too well defended by the Excellence of ſo many of his Sect in all Ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the Compaſs of one, but the greateſt in Story, both as to Perſons and Events: I need name no more than *Cæſar*, *Atticus*, *Mecænas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*; all admirable in their ſeveral Kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Cæſar, If conſider'd in all Lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt Place in the Regiſters we have of Mankind, equal only to himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues,

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and Excellencies of a Stateſman, a Captain, an Orator, an Hiſtorian; beſides all theſe, a Poet, a Philoſopher, when his Leiſure allowed him; the Greateſt Man of Counſel and of Action, of Deſign and Execution; the Greateſt Nobleneſs of Birth, of Perſon and of Countenance; the Greateſt Humanity and Clemency of Nature, in the midſt of the Greateſt Provocations, Occaſions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge: 'Tis true, he overturned the Laws and Conſtitutions of his Country, yet 'twas after ſo many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; ſo as in what he did, he ſeems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himſelf deſigned; for though his Ambition was vaſt, yet it ſeems to have been raiſed to thoſe Heights, rather by the Inſolence of his Enemies, than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to him, was only a Deſire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conqueſts of barbarous Nations, extent of the *Roman* Empire; defending at firſt the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, oppoſing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey:* And in the whole Courſe of his Victories and Succeſſes, ſeeking

eeking all Occaſions of Bounty to his
riends, and Clemency to his Enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of
he Wiſeſt and Beſt of the *Romans*; Learn-
d without Pretending, Good without
ffectation, Bountiful without Deſign,
Friend to all Men in Misfortune, a Flat-
erer to no Man in Greatneſs or Power, a
over of Mankind, and Beloved by
hem all; and by theſe Virtues and Diſ-
oſitions, he paſſed ſafe and untouched,
hrough all the Flames of Civil Diſſenti-
ns that ravag'd his Country the great-
ſt Part of his Life; and though he never
ntred into any Publick Affairs, or Par-
icular Factions of his State, yet he was
avoured, Honoured, and Courted by
hem all, from *Sylla* to *Auguſtus*.

Mecænas was the Wiſeſt Counſellor,
he Trueſt Friend, both of his Prince
nd his Country, the Beſt Governor of
ome, the Happieſt and Ableſt Negotia-
or, the Beſt Judge of Learning and
irtue, the Choiceſt in his Friends, and
hereby the Happieſt in his Converſa-
on that has been known in Story; and
think, to his Conduct in Civil, and
grippa's in Military Affairs, may be
uly Aſcribed all the Fortunes and
reatneſs of *Auguſtus*, ſo much Celebra-
d in the World.

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, they deſerve in my Opinion, the Honour of the Greateſt Philoſophers, as well as the Beſt Poets of their Nation or Age. The Two firſt, beſides what looks like ſomething more than Human in their Poetry, were very Great Naturaliſts, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, beſides the Sweetneſs and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the reſt of his Writings, ſo great a Maſter of Life, and of true Senſe in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean Strain of his Philoſophy, to refuſe being Secretary to *Auguſtus*, when ſo Great an Emperor ſo much deſired it. But all the different Sects of Philoſophers, ſeem to have agreed in the Opinion, of a Wiſe Man's abſtaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the Meaning of *Pythagoras*'s Precept; To abſtain from Beans, by which the Affairs or Publick Reſolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that Sort of Buſineſs too groſs and material for the abſtracted Fineneſs of their Speculations. They eſteemed it too ſordid and too artificial for the Cleanneſs and Simplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no Part in the Faults of a Government; and they knew

to

too well, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men made them incapable of any that was Perfect and Good; and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they lived under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular Men that compoſed it. But where Factions were once entred and rooted in a State, they thought it Madneſs for good Men to meddle with Publick Affairs; which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this: And *Heraclitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens, quitted the Government of his City, and amuſing himſelf, to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, ask'd thoſe who wondred at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with ſuch Boys, than govern ſuch Men?* But above all, they eſteemed Publick Buſineſs the moſt contrary of all others, to that Tranquility of Mind, which they eſteemed and taught, to be the only true Felicity of Man.

For this Reaſon *Epicurus* paſſed his Life wholly in his Garden; there he Studied, there he Exerciſed, there he taught his Philoſophy; and indeed, no other ſort of Abode ſeems to contribute ſo much, to both the Tranquility of

Mind, and Indolence of Body, which he made his Chief Ends. The Sweetneſs of Air, the Pleaſantneſs of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanneſs and Lightneſs of Food, the Exerciſes of Working or Walking; but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Sollicitude, ſeem equally to favour and improve both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Senſe and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Eaſe both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be ſaid to have been the firſt that had a Garden in *Athens*, whoſe Citizens before him, had theirs in their Villaes or Farms without the City; yet the Uſe of Gardens ſeems to have been the moſt Ancient and moſt General of any Sorts of Poſſeſſion among Mankind, and to have preceded thoſe of Corn or of Cattel, as yielding the eaſier, the pleaſanter, and more natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the Choice of Philoſophers, ſo it has been the common Favourite of Publick and Private Men; a Pleaſure of the Greateſt, and the Care of the Meaneſt; and indeed, an Employment and a Poſſeſſion, for which no Man is too High nor too Low.

If we believe the Scripture, we muſt allow

allow that God Almighty eſteemed the Life of a Man in a Garden, the happieſt he could give him, or elſe he would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the State of Innocence and Pleaſure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradiſe was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what ſort of Place is meant by it, may perhaps eaſier be conjectured. It ſeems to have been a *Perſian* Word, ſince *Zenophon* and other Greek Authors mention it, as what was much in Uſe and Delight among the Kings of thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries. *Strabo* deſcribing *Jericho*, ſays, *Ibi eſt palmetum, cui immixte ſunt, etiam aliæ ſtirpes hortenſes, locus ferax, palmis abundans, ſpatio ſtadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi eſt Regia & Balſami Paradiſus.* He mentions another Place, to be *prope Libanum & Paradiſum.* And *Alexander* is written to have ſeen *Cyrus*'s Tomb in a Paradiſe, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a Shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradiſe among them ſeems to have been a large Space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all Sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Foreſt, either found there before it was

incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all Sorts of Plants uſual in the Climate, and pleaſant to the Eye, the Smell, or the Taſte; or elſe imployed, like our Parks, for Incloſure and Harbour of all Sorts of Wild Beaſts, as well as for the Pleaſure of Riding and Walking: And ſo they were of more or leſs Extent, and of differing Entertainment, according to the ſeveral Humors of the Princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in Story, that brought them in Uſe through her Empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where ever ſhe built, and in all, or moſt of the Provinces ſhe ſubdued: which are ſaid to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Kings continued this Cuſtom and Care, or rather this Pleaſure, till one of them brought in the Uſe of ſmaller and more regular Gardens: For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where ſuch Paradiſes or Gardens were much in Uſe, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Incloſure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Aſſyrian* Kings uſed to confine themſelves; he made her Gardens, not only within

ithin the Palaces, but upon Terraſes iſed with Earth, over the arched ooſs, and even upon the Top of the igheſt Tower, planted them with all orts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other lants and Flowers, the moſt pleaſant f that Country; and thereby made at aſt the moſt airy Gardens, as well as he moſt coſtly, that have been heard of n the World. This Lady may probably ave been Native of the Provinces of *Chaſimir*, or of *Damaſcus*, which have n all times been the happieſt Regions or Fruits of all the *Eaſt*, by the Excelence of Soil, the Poſition of Mountains, he Frequency of Streams, rather than he Advantages of Climate. And 'tis reat Pity we do not yet ſee the Hiſtory of *Chaſimir*, which *Monſieur Bernier* aſured me he had tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and intended to Publiſh; and of which he has given ſuch a Taſte, in his excellent Memoirs of the *Mogul*'s Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are thoſe of *Solomon*, planted with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where he paſſed the Times of his Leiſure and Delight, where the Houſes as well as

Grounds, were adorned with all that could be of pleaſing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of thoſe among his Wives that he loved the beſt; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradiſes mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this Great and Wiſeſt King. But the Idea of the Garden muſt be very great, if it anſwers at all to that of the Gardiner, who muſt have imployed a great deal of his Care and of his Study, as well as of his Leiſure and Thought in theſe Entertainments, ſince he writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Heſperides* were, we have little or no Account, further than the Mention of them, and thereby the Teſtimony of their having been in Uſe and Requeſt, in ſuch Remoteneſs of Place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, deſcribed by *Homer*, ſeems wholly Poetical, and made at the Pleaſure of the Painter; like the reſt of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Iſland of *Phæacia* or *Corfu*. Yet as all the Pieces of this Tranſcendent Genius, are compoſed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; ſo they ſeldom fail of Inſtruction as well as Delight, to all that read him. The Seat of this Garden, joining to the Gates of

he Palace, the Compaſs of the Inclo-ure, being Four Acres, the Tall Trees of Shade, as well as thoſe of Fruit, the Two Fountains, one for the Uſe of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succeſſion of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the beſt Rules or Proviſions that can go towards compoſing the Beſt Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the Life of ſome he had ſeen in *Ionia*, the Country and uſual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed, the Region of the moſt refined Pleaſures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the Humor and Cuſtom of Gardens may have deſcended earlier into the Lower *Aſia*, from *Damaſcus*, *Aſſyria*, and other Parts of the *Eaſtern* Empires, though they ſeem to have made late Entrance, and ſmaller Improvement in thoſe of *Greece* and *Rome*; at leaſt in no Proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleaſure and Luxury.

The long and flouriſhing Peace of the two firſt Empires, gave earlier Riſe and Growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Conſequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were

were almoſt perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either Abroad or at Home, and ſo were buſie in Actions that were done under the Sun, rather than thoſe under the Shade. Theſe were the Entertainments of the ſofter Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Proweſs of the two laſt Empires, which from thoſe Conqueſts brought home mighty Increaſes both of Riches and Luxury, and ſo perhaps loſt more than they got by the Spoils of the *Eaſt*.

There may be another Reaſon for the ſmall Advance of Gardening in thoſe excellent and more temperate Climates, where the Air and Soil were ſo apt of themſelves to produce the beſt Sorts of Fruits, without the Neceſſity of cultivating them by Labour and Care; whereas the Hotter Climates, as well as the Cold, are forced upon Induſtry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themſelves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little Mention of Gardens in Old *Greece*, or in Old *Rome*, for Pleaſure or with Elegance, nor of much Curiouſneſs or Care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climates, contenting themſelves with thoſe which were Native of their own; and theſe were the Vine, the

Olive,

live, the Fig, the Pear, and the Ap-
e: *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no
ore; and their Gardens were then but
e neceſſary Part of their Farms, in-
nded particularly for the cheap and
ſie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, im-
oyed in their Agriculture, and ſo were
rned chiefly to all the common Sorts
Plants, Herbs, or Legumes, (as the
rench call them) proper for common
ouriſhment; and the Name of *Hortus*
taken to be from *Ortus*, becauſe it per-
etually furniſhes ſome Riſe or Productiⁿ
n of ſomething new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War,
rſt brought Cherries from *Pontus*
to *Italy*, which ſo generally pleas'd,
nd were ſo eaſily propagated in all
limates, that within the Space of about
n Hundred Years, having travelled
Weſtward with the *Roman* Conqueſts,
ey grew common as far as the *Rhine*,
nd paſſed over into *Britain*. After
e Conqueſt of *Africk*, *Greece*, the
eſſer *Aſia*, and *Syria*, were brought in-
o *Italy*, all the Sorts of their *Mala*,
hich we interpret Apples, and might
gnifie no more at firſt, but were after-
ards applied to many other Foreign
ruits: The Apricocks coming from
pire, were called *Mala Epirotica*;

Peaches

Peaches from *Perſia*, *Mala Perſica*; Ci
trons of *Media*, *Medica*; Pomgranate
from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces *Cato*
nea, from a ſmall Iſland in the *Grecia*
Seas; their beſt Pears were brough
from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece* an
Numantia; as appears by their ſeveral
Appellations: Their Plums, from *Arme*
nia, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damaſcus*
The Kinds of theſe are reckon'd in *Nero*
time, to have been near Thirty, as we
as of Figs; and many of them were en
tertained at *Rome* with ſo great Ap
plauſe, and ſo general Vogue, that th
great Captains, and even Conſular Men
who firſt brought them over, took Pri
in giving them their own Names, (by
which they run a great while in *Rome*
as in Memory of ſome great Service o
Pleaſure they had done their Country
ſo that not only Laws and Battels, bu
ſeveral Sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and o
Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudia*
Pompeyan and *Tiberian*; and by ſeveral
other ſuch Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about a
Hundred Years, came from Countries
far as their Conqueſts had reached; an
like Learning, Architecture, Painting an
Statuary, made their great Advances
Italy, about the *Auguſtan* Age. What w

moſt Requeſt in their common Gar-
ens in *Virgil*'s time, or at leaſt in his
outh, may be conjectured by the De-
ription of his Old *Corician*'s Garden, in
e Fourth of the Georgicks; which
egins,

amq; ſub Oebaliæ memini me turribus altis.

Among Flowers, the Roſes had the
ſt Place, eſpecially a Kind which bore
vice a Year; and none other Sorts are
ere mention'd beſides the *Narciſſus*,
o' the Violet and the Lily were very
ommon, and the next in Eſteem; eſpe-
ally the *Breve Lilium*, which was the
uberouſe. The Plants he mentions, are
e *Apium*, which tho' commonly inter-
reted *Parſly*, yet comprehends all Sorts
f Smallage, whereof Sellery is one; *Cu-
mis*, which takes in all Sorts of Me-
ons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which
a common Word for all Sorts of Pot-
erbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which
gnifies all Kinds of Sweet or Sacred
lants that were uſed for Adorning the
ltars; as Bays, Olive, Roſemary, Mir-
e: The *Acantus* ſeems to be what we
ll *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ*
ere, that deſerv'd Place in a Garden, I
annot gueſs, unleſs they had Sorts of Ivy

un-

unknown to us; nor what his *Vesc*
Papaver was, ſince Poppies with us
of no Uſe in eating. The Fruits mentio
ed, are only Apples, Pears, and Plum
for Olives, Vines and Figs, were grow
to be Fruits of their Fields, rather th
of their Gardens. The Shades were t
Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and t
Platanus, or Plane-Tree; whoſe Leaf a
Shade, of all others, was the moſt in R
queſt; and having been brought out
Perſia, was ſuch an Inclination amo
the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they u
ally fed it with Wine inſtead of Wat
they believed this Tree loved that l
quor, as well as thoſe that uſed to dri
under its Shade; which was a great H
mor and Cuſtom, and perhaps gave R
to the other, by obſerving the Grow
of the Tree, or Largeneſs of the Leav
where much Wine was Spilt or l
and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great Pity the Haſte which *Vi*
ſeems here to have been in, ſhould h
hindered him from entring farther i
the Account or Inſtructions of Gard
ing, which he ſaid he could have giv
and which he ſeems to have ſo m
eſteemed and loved, by that admira
Picture of this Old Man's Felicity, wh
he draws like ſo great a Maſter, w
o

ne Stroke of a Pencil in thoſe Four Words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midſt of theſe ſmall Poſſeſſions, upon a few Acres of Barren Ground, yet he equalled all the Wealth nd Opulence of Kings, in the Eaſe, Content, and Freedom of his Mind.

I am not ſatisfied with the common cceptation of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any Paſſage in the uthors of that Age, which gives me ne Opinion, that theſe were otherwiſe nown to the *Romans* than as Fruits of ne *Eaſtern* Climates. I ſhould take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather ſome kind of pples, ſo called from the Golden Cour, as ſome are amongſt us; for otherwiſe, the Orange-Tree is too Noble in ne Beauty, Taſte and Smell of its Fruit; the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowrs; in the perpetual Verdure of its eaves, and in the excellent Uſes of all neſe, both for Pleaſure and Health: Not o have deſerved any particular Mention the Writings of an Age and Nation, refined and exquiſite in all Sorts of elicious Luxury.

The charming Deſcription *Virgil* makes of

of the happy Apple, muſt be intended either for the Citron, or for ſome Sort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either ſo proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other, (as a certain Sort of Fig was to *Damaſcus*) or to have loſt its Virtue by changing Soils, or to have had its Effect of curing ſome ſort of Poiſon that was uſual in that Country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inſerting thoſe few Lines out of the Second of *Virgil*'s Georgicks, not having ever heard any Body elſe take Notice of them.

Media *fert triſtes ſuccos tardumq; ſaporem*
Fœlices Mali, quo non præſentibus ullum,
Pocula ſi quando ſævæ infecere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
Ipſa ingens arbos, faciemq; ſimillima lauro,
Et ſi non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis
Flos apprima tenax, animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac ſenibus medicantur anhelis.

Media *brings pois'nous Herbs, and the flat taſte*
Of the bleſs'd Apple, than which ne'er was found
A Help more preſent, when curſt Step-Dames mix
Their mortal Cups, to drive the Venom out.

'Tis

'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in Hue;
And did it not ſuch Odours caſt about,
'Twou'd be a Bays, the Leaves with no Winds fall,
The Flowers all excel: With theſe the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old Purſie Men.

The Tree being ſo like a Bays or Lawrel, the ſlow or dull Taſte of the Apple, the Virtue of it againſt Poiſon, ſeem to deſcribe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure Ill Scents of Mouth or Breath, or Shortneſs of Wind in Purſie Old Men, ſeem to agree moſt with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it ſignifies the Flowers growing moſt upon the Tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been ſo curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at Twelve Years of Age, began to flower; and I obſerved all the Flowers to grow upon the Top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing ſo High or Sweet-ſcented, as the Orange. On the other ſide, I have always heard Oranges to paſs for a Cordial Juice, and a great Preſervative againſt the Plague, which is a ſort of Venom;

ſo that I know not to which of theſe we are to aſcribe this lovely Picture of the happy Apple; but I am ſatisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now ſo frequent there in Fields, (at leaſt in ſome Parts) and make ſo common and delicious a Part of Gardening, even in theſe *Northern* Climates.

'Tis certain thoſe Noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange and the Lemon, are the Native Product of thoſe Noble Regions, *Aſſyria*, *Media* and *Perſia*; and tho' they have been from thence tranſplanted and propagated in many Parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at ſuch Perfection in Beauty, Taſte or Virtue, as in their Native Soil and Climate. This made it generally obſerved among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *Eaſt* far excelled thoſe of the *Weſt*. And ſeveral Writers have trifled away their Time in deducing the Reaſons of this Difference, from the more Benign or Powerful Influences of the Riſing Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any Man that has the leaſt Knowledge of the Globe, and gives himſelf Leave to think, than the Folly of ſuch Wiſe Reaſons, ſince the Regions that are *Eaſt* to us, are

Weſt

Weſt to ſome others; and the Sun riſes alike to all that lie in the ſame Latitude, with the ſame Heat and Virtue upon its firſt Approaches, as well as in its Progreſs. Beſides, if the *Eaſtern* Fruits were the better only for that Poſition of Climate, then thoſe of *India* ſhould excel thoſe of *Perſia*; which we do not find by comparing the Accounts of thoſe Countries: But *Aſſyria*, *Media* and *Perſia*, have been ever eſteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the Beſt and Nobleſt Fruits in the World. The Reaſon of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soil, being there extended under the beſt Climate for the Production of all Sorts of the beſt Fruits; which ſeems to be from about Twenty five, to about Thirty five Degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climate in the preſent *Perſian* Empire, (which comprehends moſt of the other Two, called anciently *Aſſyria* and *Media*) are compoſed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, eſpecially to the *North*; watered naturally with many Rivers, and thoſe by Art and Labour derived into many more and ſmaller Streams, which all conſpire to form a Country in all Circumſtances, the

moſt proper and agreeable for Production of the Beſt and Nobleſt Fruits. Whereas if we ſurvey the Regions of the *Weſtern* World, lying in the ſame Latitude between Twenty five and Thirty five Degrees, we ſhall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the Sandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no Part of the Continent of *Europe* lies ſo *Southward* as Thirty five Degrees. Which may ſerve to diſcover the true genuine Reaſon, why the Fruits of the *Eaſt* have been always obſerved and agreed, to tranſcend thoſe of the *Weſt*.

In our *North-Weſt* Climates, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in thoſe Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* Parts of *France*. And as moſt general Cuſtoms in Countries, grow from the different Nature of Climates, Soils or Situations, and from the Neceſſities or Induſtry they impoſe, ſo do theſe.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the beſt Sorts are ſo common, and of ſo eaſie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the Coſt of Incloſing, or the Care of more than ordinary Cultivating. On the other ſide, the great Pleaſures of thoſe Climates

are Coolneſs of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant Sight of Duſty Streets, or Parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of thoſe Countries to be chiefly valued by Largeneſs of Extent, (which gives greater Play and Openneſs of Air) by Shades of Trees, by Frequency of Living Streams or Fountains, by Perſpectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any Place look Freſh and Cool. On the Contrary, the more *Northern* Climates, as they ſuffer little by Heat, make little Proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of Shade, and ſeldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the Reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no Sorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climates, or uſual among us; (nor indeed the beſt Sort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our Kitchin-Gardens themſelves) and the beſt Fruits not ripening without the Advantage of Walls or Paliſades, by Reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of ſmaller Compaſs, ſeldom exceeding Four, Six, or Eight Acres; Incloſed with Walls, and laid out in a manner,

wholly for Advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the Product of Kitchin-Gardens in all Sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common Uſe of Tables.

Theſe are uſually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the firſt Sort are thoſe of *Italy*, and were ſo of old. In the more temperate Parts of *France*, and in *Brabant*, (where I take Gardening to be at its greateſt Height) they are compoſed of both Sorts, the Extent more ſpacious than ours; part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits; ſome Standards, ſome againſt Walls or Paliſades, ſome for Foreſt-Trees and Groves for Shade, ſome Parts Wild, ſome Exact; and Fountains much in Requeſt among them.

But after ſo much Ramble into Ancient Times, and Remote Places, to return Home and conſider the preſent Way and Humour of our Gardening in *England*; which ſeem to have grown into ſuch Vogue, and to have been ſo mightily improved in Three or Four and twenty Years of His Majeſty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, or in the Number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may be juſtly called good; and from the earlieſt Cherry and Strawberry,

to the laſt Apples and Pears, may furniſh every Day of the circling Year. For the Taſte and Perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the *French*, who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Shene*, in no very Ill Year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in *France*, on this ſide *Fountainbleau*; and the firſt as good as any they have eat in *Gaſcony*; I mean thoſe which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a Climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at *Madrid*, than in *Gaſcony* it ſelf: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that Sort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the latter kind, and the Blue, we cannot come near the warm Climates, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muſcat* Grape.

My Orange-Trees are as large as any I ſaw when I was young in *France*, except thoſe of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have ſeen ſince in the *Low Countries*, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of *Orange*'s; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted

as are commonly brought over, except the beſt Sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but ſay, in Defence of our Climate, which is ſo much and ſo generally decried Abroad, by thoſe who never ſaw it; or if they have been here, have yet perhaps ſeen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries; who accuſe our Country for their own Defaults, and ſpeak Ill, not only of our Gardens and Houſes, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Cuſtoms and Manners of Life, by what they have obſerved of the Meaner and Baſer Sort of Mankind; and of Company among us, becauſe they wanted themſelves perhaps, either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the Good.

I muſt needs add one thing more in Favour of our Climate, which I heard the King ſay, and I thought New and Right, and truly like a King *England*, that loved and eſteemed his own Country: 'Twas in Reply to ſome of the Company that were reviling our Climate, and extolling thoſe of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at leaſt of *France*: He ſaid, He thought that was the beſt Climate, where he could be abroad in the Air with Pleaſure,

ſure, or at leaſt without Trouble and Inconvenience, the moſt Days of the Year, and the moſt Hours of the Day; and this he thought he could be in *England*, more than in any Country he knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the Hot and the Cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France*, and the *Low-Countries* themſelves; where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seaſons, are leſs treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climate wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Default of it, is only the ſhort Seaſon of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all ſuch as are ripe before the end of *Auguſt*, are for ought I know, as good with us as any where elſe. This makes me eſteem the true Region of Gardens in *England*, to be the Compaſs of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental Warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of ſo vaſt a Town, makes Fruits, as well as Corn, a great deal forwarder than in *Hampſhire* or *Wiltſhire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, beſides the Temper of our Climate, two things particular to us, that

that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the Fineneſs, and almoſt perpetual Greenneſs of our Turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, which leaves all their Dry Walks in other Countries, very unpleaſant and uneaſie. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soil not admitting that Fineneſs of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenneſs in *France*, during moſt of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the Fineſt of our Soils.

Whoever begins a Garden, ought in the firſt place, and above all, to conſider the Soil, upon which the Taſte of not only his Fruits, but his Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend; and the Default of Soil is without Remedy: For although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you pleaſe, (if you will be at the Charge) yet it muſt be renewed in Two or Three Years, or it runs into the Nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees ſpread their Roots further than any Bodies Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soil about you is Ill, the Air is ſo too in a Degree, and has Influence upon

pon the Taſte of Fruit. What *Horace* ys of the Productions of Kitchin-Gar- ens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true f all the beſt Sorts of Fruits, and may etermine the Choice of Soil for all ardens.

aule ſuburbano qui ſiccis crevit in agris.
Dulcior, irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

lants from dry Fields thoſe of the Town excel,
Nothing more taſteleſs is than water'd Grounds.

Any Man had better throw away his are and his Money upon any thing elſe, an upon a Garden in Wet or Moiſt round. Peaches and Grapes will have Taſte but upon a Sand or Gravel; but e Richer theſe are, the better; and nei- er Sallads, Peaſe or Beans, have at all e Taſte upon a Clay or Rich Earth, as ey have upon either of the others, tho' e Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants ay perhaps, be more upon the worſe ils.

Next to your Choice of Soil, is to ſuit ur Plants to your Ground, ſince of is every one is not Maſter; though rhaps *Varro*'s Judgment upon this Caſe,

Caſe, is the wiſeſt and the beſt; for to one that asked him, What he ſhould do if his Father or Anceſtors had left him a Seat in an Ill Air, or upon an Ill Soil? He anſwered, Why Sell it, and Buy another in Good? But what if I cannot get Half the Worth? Why then take a Quarter; but however, Sell it for any thing rather than live upon it.

Of all Sorts of Soil, the beſt is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Roſiny Sand; whoever lies upon either of theſe, may run boldly into all the beſt Sort of Peaches and Grapes, how Shallow ſoever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in theſe Soils, the Fruit ſhall be of much finer Taſte than any other: A richer Soil will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs; but ſtill the more of the Sand in your Earth the better, and the worſe the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits ſhould be ſuited to the Climate among us, as well as the Soil; for there are Degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little Purpoſe to plant any of the beſt Fruits, as Peaches or Grapes, hardly I doubt, beyond *Northamptonſhire*, at the furtheſt *Northwards*: And I thought it very prudent

n a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staf-ordſhire*, who is a great Lover of his Garden, to pretend no higher, though his Soil be good enough, than to the Perfection of Plums; and in theſe (by beſtowing *South* Walls upon them) he has very well ſucceeded, which he could never have done in Attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Coſevelt* with that Biſhop of *Munſter*, that made ſo much Noiſe in his time, I obſerved no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden he had made. He told me the Reaſon was, becauſe he found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climate, or upon that Soil; and therefore inſtead of being curious in others, he had only been ſo in the Sorts of that, whereof he had ſo many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September*.

As to the Size of a Garden, which will perhaps, in time grow extravagant among us, I think from Four or Five, to Seven or Eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need deſign, and will furniſh as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occaſion to uſe in his Family.

In every Garden Four Things are ne-

ceſſary

ceſſary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any Perfection: It ought to lie to the beſt Parts of the Houſe, or to thoſe of the Maſter's commoneſt Uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The Part of your Garden next your Houſe, (beſides the Walks that go round it) ſhould be a Parterre for Flowers, or Graſs-Plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the Neweſt Mode, it be caſt all into Graſs-Plots and Gravel Walks, the Drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with Fountains, and the Plainneſs of thoſe with Statues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill Effect upon the Eye. However, the Part next the Houſe ſhould be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one Half of the Garden, the other ſhould be Fruit-Trees, unleſs ſome Grove for Shade lie in the Middle. If it take up a Third Part only, then the next Third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the Laſt Standard-Fruit; or elſe the Second Part Fruit-Trees, and the Third all Sorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seaſons of the Year.

I will not enter upon any Account of Flowers,

Flowers, having only pleaſed my ſelf with ſeeing or ſmelling them, and not troubled my ſelf with the Care, which is more the Ladies Part than the Mens; but the Succeſs is wholly in the Gardiner. For Fruits, the beſt we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Maudlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuſe*, the *Ramboullet*, the *Muſk*, the *Admirable*, which is late; all the reſt are either varified by Names, or not to be named with theſe, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that eaſily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be eſteemed only becauſe they are early, but yet ſhould find Room in a good Garden, at leaſt the White and Brown Nutmeg, the *Perſian*, and the Violet Musk. The only good Nectorins are the Murry and the *French*; of theſe there are two Sorts, one very round, the other ſomething long, but the round is the beſt: Of the Murry there are ſeveral Sorts, but being all hard, they are ſeldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the beſt are the *Chaſſelas*, which is the better Sort of our White Muſcadine, (as the uſual Name was) about

about *Sheen*; 'tis called the Pearl-Grape, and ripens well enough in common Years, but not ſo well as the common Black, or Currand, which is ſomething a worſe Grape. The Parſley is good and proper enough to our Climate, but all White *Frontiniacks* are difficult, and ſeldom ripe unleſs in extraordinary Summers.

I have had the Honour of bringing over four Sorts into *England*; the *Arboyſe* from the *Franche Comte*, which is a ſmall White Grape, or rather runs into ſome ſmall and ſome great upon the ſame Bunch; it agrees well with our Climate, but is very choice in Soil, and muſt have a ſharp Gravel; it is the moſt delicious of all Grapes that are not Muſcat. The *Burgundy*, which is a Grizelin or Pale Red, and of all others is ſureſt to ripen in our Climate, ſo that I have never known them to fail one Summer theſe Fifteen Years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an *Eaſt* Wall. A Black Muſcat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the Fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the higheſt of that Taſte, and the Nobleſt of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*; but requires the hotteſt Wall and the ſharpeſt Gravel; and muſt be favour-

favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All theſe are, I ſuppoſe, by this time, pretty common among ſome Gardeners in my Neighbourhood, as well as ſeveral Perſons of Quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The laſt is very ſmall, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blue there are two or three Sorts, but little different, one ſomething longer than the other; but that kind which ſwells moſt, is ever the beſt. Of the White I know but two Sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the firſt; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raiſe, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks the beſt are the common old Sort, and the largeſt Maſculin; of which this laſt is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I eſteem none of this Fruit but the *Bruſſel's* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the beſt Fruits we have; and which I firſt brought over among us.

The Number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet, Roſati, Sans, Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. *Michael*, St. *Germain*, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums the beſt are St. *Julian*, St. *Catharine*, White and Blue Pedrigon, Queen-Mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the Sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more Kinds; and I am content to leave this Regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their Deſigns of Gardening.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climate, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin; and for all ſorts of Uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their Perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in

Gaſcony.

Gascony. In other Fruits the Defect of Sun is in a great Measure supplied by the Advantage of Walls.

The next Care to that of suiting Trees with the Soil, is that of suiting Fruits to the Position of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter-Pears to be good, must be planted upon full *South*, or *South-East*; Figs are best upon *South-East*, but will do well upon *East* and *South-West*: The *West* are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks; but all of them are improved by a *South* Wall both as to Early and Taste: *North*, *North-West*, or *North-East*, deserve nothing but Greens; these should be divided by Woodbines or Jessamins between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Vine between every Fruit-Tree; the best Sorts upon the *South-Walls*, the common White and Black upon *East* and *West*, because the other Trees being many of them (especially Peaches) very tansitory; some set to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this Method the Walls are left for several Years unfurnished; whereas the Vines on each side cover the void Space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make

only a Pillar between them of Two or Three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt Fruits in the moſt Perfection our Climate will allow, ſhould not only take care of giving them as much Sun, but alſo as much Air as he can; no Tree, unleſs Dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within Forty Foot of your beſt Walls, but the farther they lie open, is ſtill the better. Of all others, this care is moſt neceſſary in Vines, which are obſerved abroad to make the beſt Wines, where they lie upon ſides of Hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the Air and the Winds. The way of pruning them too, is beſt learn'd from the Vineyards, where you ſee nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead Stump; and upon our Walls they ſhould be left but like a Ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at moſt upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Deſcent; they have all their Beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an Oblong upon a Deſcent. The Beauty, the Air, the View makes Amends for the

Expence,

Expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the Terras-Walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the Stone-Stairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt Figure of a Garden I ever ſaw, either at Home or Abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hartfordſhire*, when I knew it about Thirty Years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of *Bedford*, eſteemed among the greateſt Wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Coſt; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Senſe in Proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed; which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greateſt of Mortal Men ſhould attempt the forcing of Nature, may beſt be judged, by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it Himſelf, by ſo few, true and undiſputed Miracles, as we ſee or hear of in the World. For my own Part, I know not three wiſer Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or Private Men, than

——— *Servare Modum, Finemq; tueri, Naturamq; ſequi.*

Becauſe I take the Garden I have named, to have been in all Kinds the moſt Beautiful and Perfect, at leaſt in the Figure and Diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a Model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a Situation, and are above the Regards of common Expence. It lies on the ſide of a Hill, (upon which the Houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The Length of the Houſe, where the beſt Rooms, and of moſt Uſe or Pleaſure are, lies upon the Breadth of the Garden, the Great Parlour opens into the Middle of a Terras Gravel-Walk that lies even with it, and which may be as I remember, about Three hundred Paces long, and broad in Proportion; the Border ſet with Standard Lawrels, and at large Diſtances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit: From this Walk are Three Deſcents by many Stone Steps in the Middle and at each End, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with Two Fountains and Eight Statues

tues in the ſeveral Quarters; at the End of the Terras-Walk are Two Summer-Houſes, and the Sides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloiſters, open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houſes even with the Cloiſters, which are paved with Stone, and deſigned for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over theſe two Cloiſters are two Terraſſes covered with Lead, and fenced with Baluſters; and the Paſſage into theſe Airy Walks, is out of the two Summer-Houſes at the End of the firſt Terras-Walk. The Cloiſter facing the *South* is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-Houſe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens; and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that Purpoſe, if this Piece of Gardening had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the Middle of this Parterre is a Deſcent by many Steps flying on each ſide of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead, and Flat) into the Lower Garden, which is all Fruit-Trees ranged about the ſeveral Quarters of a Wilderneſs which is very Shady; the

Walks here are all Green, the Grotto embelliſh'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a Third Quarter of all Greens; but this Want is ſupplied by a Garden on the other ſide the Houſe, which is all of that Sort, very Wild, Shady, and Adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt Place, I think, that I have ſeen in my Life, either before or ſince, at Home or Abroad; what it is now I can give little Account, having paſſed through ſeveral Hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as Houſes; but the Remembrance of what it was, is too pleaſant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have miſtaken the Figure of it, which may ſerve for a Pattern to the beſt Gardens of our Manner, and that are moſt proper for our Country and Climate.

What I have ſaid of the beſt Forms of Gardens, is meant only of ſuch as are in ſome ſort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they muſt owe it to ſome extraordinary Diſpoſitions of Nature in the Seat, or ſome great Race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many diſagreeing Parts into ſome Figure, which ſhall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have ſeen in ſome Places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineſes*; a People, whoſe way of Thinking, ſeems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly in ſome certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged ſo, as to anſwer one another, and at exact Diſtances. The *Chineſes* ſcorn this way of Planting, and ſay a Boy that can tell an Hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in ſtrait Lines, and overagainſt one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleaſes. But their greateſt Reach of Imagination, is employed

ployed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty ſhall be great, and ſtrike the Eye, but without any Order or Diſpoſition of Parts, that ſhall be commonly or eaſily obſerv'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this ſort of Beauty, yet they have a particular word to expreſs it; and where they find it hit their Eye at firſt Sight, they ſay the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any ſuch Expreſſion of Eſteem. And whoever obſerves the Work upon the beſt *Indian* Gowns, or the Painting upon their beſt Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this Kind, (that is) without Order. But I ſhould hardly adviſe any of theſe Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard Atchievement for any common Hands; and tho' there may be more Honour if they ſucceed well, yet there is more Diſhonour if they fail, and 'tis Twenty to One they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in ſome Relations of a Garden made by a *Dutch* Governour of their Colony, upon the Cape *de Buen Eſperance* is admirable, and deſcribed to be of an Oblong Figure,

very

very large Extent, and divided into Four Quarters by long and croſs Walks, ranged with all ſorts of Orange-Trees, Lemons, Limes and Citrons; each of theſe Four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four Parts of the World; ſo as in this one Incloſure are to be found the ſeveral Gardens of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk* and *America*. There could not be in my Mind, a greater Thought of a Gardener, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, nor better ſuited or choſen for the Climate, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may paſs for the *Heſperides* of our Age, whatever or wherever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Iſlands or Continent upon the *South-Weſt* of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for Taſte, or only for Sight, as thoſe of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees, with Stocks, Branches, Leaves and Fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of Gold; but this was only ſtupendous in Coſt and Art, and anſwers not at all in my

my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have ſaid of Gardening, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, ſo as to make no great Faults, nor be much impoſed upon in the Deſigns of that Kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a ſort of Creation, that raiſe Beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleaſure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Money among the poorer ſort and Artiſans, that are a publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as Effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it ſelf in ſome Degree. The reſt that belongs to this Subject, muſt be a Gardener's Part; upon whoſe Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soil and Sorts be well choſen, well ſuited, and diſpoſed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Careleſneſs of the Servants can hardly leave the Maſter diſappointed.

I will

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by Three ſhort Directions or Advices: Firſt, In all Plantations, either for his Maſter or himſelf, to draw his Trees out of ſome Nurſery, that is, upon a leaner and lighter Soil than his own where he removes them; without this Care they will not thrive in ſeveral Years, perhaps never; and muſt make way for new, which ſhould be avoided all that can be; for Life is too ſhort and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as thoſe of your Houſe; ſo that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too ſeldom cut them down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raiſe, to have ſome Regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud; for the firſt will have a Share in giving Taſte and Seaſon to the Fruits it produces, how little ſoever it is uſually obſerved by our Gardeners. I have found Grafts of the ſame Tree upon a Bon-cretien-Stock, bring Chaſſeray Pears, that laſted till *March*, but with a Rind Green and Rough: And others, upon a Metre-John-Stock, with a ſmooth and Yellow Skin, which were

were rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the Difference between the St. *Michael* and the Ambrette Pear (which has puzzled our Gardeners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this perhaps, as well as by raiſing from Stones and Kernels, moſt of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a White Thorn brings the Lazarolli, a Fruit eſteemed at *Rome*, tho' I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the Cidrato (or Hermaphrodite) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The beſt Peaches are raiſed by Buds of the beſt Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the beſt Peaches; and ſo the beſt Apples and Pears, from the beſt Kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels alſo of the beſt Sorts, with Reſpect to the Seaſon, as well as Beauty and Taſte. And I believe ſo many excellent Winter-Pears as have come into *France* ſince Forty Years, may have been found out by grafting Summer-Pears of the fineſt Taſte and moſt Water, upon Winter-Stocks.

The Third Advice is, To take the greateſt Care and Pains in preſerving your Trees from the worſt Diſeaſe, to which thoſe of the beſt Fruits are ſubject in the

beſt

eſt Soils, and upon the beſt Walls. 'Tis
hat has not been (that I know of)
aken Notice of with us, till I was forced
o obſerve it by the Experience of my
ardens, though I have ſince met with
in Books both Ancient and Modern.
found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks
nd Plums upon my beſt South-Walls,
nd ſometimes upon my Weſt, apt for
veral Years to a Soot, or Smuttineſs
pon their Leaves firſt, and then upon
eir Fruits, which were good for no-
ing the Years they were ſo affected.
y Orange Trees were likewiſe ſubject
it, and never proſpered while they
ere ſo; and I have known ſome Col-
ctions quite deſtroyed by it. But I
nnot ſay, that I ever found either my
gs or Pears infected with it, nor any
rees upon my Eaſt-Walls, though I do
t well conjecture at the Reaſon. The
ſt were ſo ſpoiled with it, that I com-
ained to ſeveral of the oldeſt and beſt
rdeners of *England*, who knew no-
ing of it, but that they often fell into
e ſame Misfortune, and eſteemed it
me Blight of the Spring. I obſerved
er ſome Years, that the diſeaſed Trees,
d very frequent upon their Stocks and
anches, a ſmall Inſect of a dark brown
Colour,

Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the Size of a large Wheat-Corn: They ſtuck cloſe to the Bark, and in many Places covered it, eſpecially about the Joints: In Winter they are dry, and thin-ſhell'd; but in Spring they begin to grow ſoft, and to fill with Moiſture, and to throw a Spawn like a Black Duſt upon the Stocks, as well as the Leaves and Fruits.

I met afterwards with the Mention of this Diſeaſe, as known among Orange-Trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and ſince in *Pauſanias*, as a thing ſo much taken Notice of in *Greece*, that the Author deſcribes a certain ſort of Earth which cures *Pediculos Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others, the moſt peſtilent Diſeaſe of the beſt Fruit-Trees, and upon the very beſt Soils of Gravel and Sand (eſpecially where they are too hungry:) And is ſo contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants, raiſed from old Trees that are infected, and ſpreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the Root, and that the beſt Cure were by Application there. But I have tried all Sorts of Soil without Effect, and can

pre

preſcribe no other Remedy, than to Prune your Trees as cloſe as you can, eſpecially the tainted Wood, then to waſh them very clean with a wet Bruſh, ſo as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can diſcern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as bruſhing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without theſe Cares and Diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and plant new ſound Trees, rather than ſuffer the Diſappointments and Vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know ſomething of this Trade, ſince I have ſo long allowed my ſelf to be good for nothing elſe, which few Men will do, to enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to ſee how other Matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for to other Scenes.

For my own part, as the Country life, and this Part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it ſelf, ſo they are the Pleaſure of my Age; and I can truly ſay, that among all my great Employments that have

fallen to my Share, I have never asked or ſought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to eſcape from them, into the Eaſe and Freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own Way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere lenitur ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An ſecretum iter, & fallentis ſemita vitæ.

But above all, the Learned read and aſk
By what Means you may gently paſs your Age,
What leſſens Care, what makes thee thine own Friend,
What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth,
Or elſe a private Path of ſtealing Life.

Theſe are Queſtions that a Man ought at leaſt to ask himſelf, whether he aſks others or no, and to chuſe his Courſe of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents or

r Advice of Friends, at leaſt if the *Spaniſh* Proverb be true, That a Fool nows more in his own Houſe, than a Wiſe Man in another's.

The Meaſure of chuſing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has cho-n, which I thank God has befallen me; nd though among the Follies of my ife, Building and Planting have not en the leaſt, and have coſt me more an I have the Confidence to own; t they have been fully recompenced the Sweetneſs and Satisfaction of this etreat, where, ſince my Reſolution ta-n of never entring again into any blick Employments, I have paſſed e Years without ever going once to wn, tho' I am almoſt in Sight of it, have a Houſe there always ready to eive me. Nor has this been any ſort Affectation, as ſome have thought it, a meer Want of Deſire or Humour make ſo ſmall a Remove; for when n in this Corner, I can truly ſay with *race*,

quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
d ſentire putas, quid credis amice pre-
are?

Sit mihi quod nunc eſt etiam minus, ut mihi
vivam,
Quod ſupereſt ævi, ſi quid ſupereſſe volent
Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & proviſæ frugis in
annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem ſpe pendulus horæ,
Hoc ſatis eſt oraſſe Jovem qui donat &
aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian *Stream re-*
vives,
What does my Friend believe I think or ask
Let me yet leſs poſſeſs ſo I may live,
What 'ere of Life remains, unto my ſelf.
May I have Books enough, and one Years
Store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful Hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove *to pray,*
Who as He pleaſes gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gar-
dening more neceſſary, or at leaſt mor
excuſeable, is, that all Men eat Fruit tha
can get it, ſo as the Choice is, only whe
ther one will eat Good or Ill; and be
tween theſe the Difference is not grea
er in Point of Taſte and Delicacy, tha
it is of Health: For the firſt I will only
ſay, That whoever has uſed to eat good
wi

will do very great Penance when he comes to Ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreamly unwholſome, and cauſes ſo many untimely Deaths, or ſo much Sickneſs about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily ſold as well as eaten; ſo no part of Dyet, in any Seaſon, is ſo Healthful, ſo Natural, and ſo Agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits; for this I make the Meaſure of their being good; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can ſay it for my ſelf at leaſt, and all my Friends, that the Seaſon of Summer Fruits is ever the Seaſon of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all Sickneſſes of the Stomach (from which moſt others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the moſt ſubject to them, ſhall complain, whenever they eat Thirty or Forty Cherries before Meals, or the like Proportion of Strawberries, White Figs, ſoft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly ripe. But theſe after *Michaelmas*, I do not think wholſome with us, unleſs

attended by ſome Fit of Hot and Dry Weather, more than is uſual after that Seaſon; when the Froſts or the Rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears, are to be reckon'd in Seaſon, beſides Apples, which with Cherries, are of all others the moſt innocent Food, and perhaps the beſt Phyſick. Now whoever will be ſure to eat good Fruit, muſt do it out of a Garden of his own; for beſides the Choice ſo neceſſary in the Sorts, the Soil, and ſo many other Circumſtances that go to compoſe a good Garden, or produce good Fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chuſing the beſt, even from the ſame Tree. The beſt Sorts of all among us, which I eſteem the White Figs and the ſoft Peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Maſter's Care, than how to raiſe the greateſt Gains; His Buſineſs is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees; whereas the way to have it Excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better

hat has one of his own, than a Rich
Man that has none. And this is all I
hink of, Neceſſary and Uſeful to be
nown upon this Subject.

ESSAY III.

Of Heroick Virtue.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art, wherein Men have excelled and diſtinguiſhed themelves moſt in the World, there are Two nly that have had the Honour of being alled Divine, and of giving that Eſteem r Appellation to ſuch as poſſeſſed them very eminent Degrees; which are, Heoick Virtue and Poetry: For Prophecy nnot be eſteemed any Excellency of ature or of Art, but wherever it is ue, is an immediate Gift of God, and eſtowed according to his Pleaſure, and pon Subjects of the meaneſt Capacity; pon Women or Children, or even things animate; as the Stones placed in the igh-Prieſt's Breaſt-Plate, which were a cred Oracle among the *Jews*.

I will

I will leave Poetry to an Eſſay by it ſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Virtue, which however forgotten, or unknown in later Ages, muſt yet be allowed to have produced in the World, the Advantages moſt valued among Men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their Underſtandings and their Lives, from the reſt of their Fellow-Creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe Heroick Virtue, by the Effects and Examples, than by Cauſes or Definitions; yet it may be ſaid to ariſe from ſome great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius tranſcending the common Race of Mankind, in Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Fortitude. Theſe Ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and aſſiſted by Fortune, ſeem to make that Noble Compoſition, which gives ſuch a Luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſt it, as made them appear to common Eyes, ſomething more than Mortals, and to have been born of ſome Mixture between Divine and Human Race; To have been Honoured and Obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths Bewailed and Adored.

The

The Greatneſs of their Wiſdom, appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; and theſe by the Goodneſs of their Nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects, as were of general Good to Mankind in the common Uſes of Life, or to their own Countries in the Inſtitutions of ſuch Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of moſt Eaſe, Safety and Advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was imployed in defending their own Countries from the Violence of Ill Men at Home, or Enemies Abroad; in reducing their Barbarous Neighbours, to the ſame Forms and Orders of Civil Lives and Inſtitutions; or in relieving others from the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of Tyranny and Violence. Theſe are all comprehended in Three Verſes of *Virgil*, deſcribing the bleſſed Seats in *Elyſium*, and thoſe that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here

Here ſuch, as for their Country, Wounds receiv'd:
Or who by Arts invented, Life improv'd,
Or by deſerving made themſelves remembred.

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue, ſeems to be in ſhort, The deſerving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in Deſign, and great in Succeſs, the Pretence to a Hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have ſaid, that this Excellency of Genius muſt be Native, becauſe it can never grow to any great Height, if it be only acquired or affected: But it muſt be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Luſtre, Eſteem and Authority; it muſt be cultivated by Education and Inſtruction, to improve its Growth, and direct its End and Application; and it muſt be aſſiſted by Fortune, to preſerve it to Maturity; becauſe the nobleſt Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never ſo bravely, in its firſt Enterpriſes, cannot deſerve enough of Mankind, to pretend to ſo great a Reward, as the Eſteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a Perſon has dyed in the firſt Battle or Adventure he atchieved,

and

and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion; who had he out-lived as many Dangers as *Alexander* did, might have ſhined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now ſince ſo many Stars go to the making up of this Conſtellation, 'tis no Wonder it has ſo ſeldom appeared in the World; nor that when it does, it is received and followed with ſo much Gazing, and ſo much Veneration.

Among the ſimpler Ages or Generations of Men, in ſeveral Countries, thoſe who were the firſt Inventers of Arts generally received and applauded as moſt neceſſary or uſeful to Human Life, were honoured Alive, and after Death worſhipped as Gods. And ſo were thoſe, who had been the firſt Authors of any good and well inſtituted Civil Government in any Country, by which, the Native Inhabitants were reduced from Savage and Brutiſh Lives, to the Safety and Convenience of Societies, the Enjoyment of Property, the Obſervance of Orders, and the Obedience of Laws; which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Induſtry, and all Kinds of Arts. The evident Advantages and common Benefits of theſe Sorts of Inſtitutions, made People generally inclined at Home

to obey ſuch Governours, the Neighbour Nations to Eſteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their Protection, or eaſily yield to the Force of their Arms and Proweſs. Thus Conqueſts began to be made in the World, and upon the ſame Deſigns of reducing Barbarous Nations unto Civil and well Regulated Conſtitutions and Governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by Force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the Advantages of Life or Condition that were thereby offered them. Such Perſons of old, who excelling in thoſe Virtues, were attended by theſe Fortunes, and made great and famous Conqueſts, and left them under good Conſtitutions of Laws and Governments; or who inſtituted excellent and laſting Orders and Frames of any Political State, in what Compaſs ſoever of Country, or under what Names ſoever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-Givers in their own Times, and were called in after Ages by the Name of Heroes.

From theſe Sources, I believe, may be deduced all or moſt of the Theology or Idolatry of all the Ancient Pagan Countries, within the Compaſs of the

Four

our great Empires, ſo much renowned
n Story, and perhaps of ſome others, as
reat in their Conſtitutions, and as ex-
ended in their Conqueſts, though not
much celebrated or obſerved by
earned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Sur-
eys of ancient Story, I am apt to con-
ude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*,
nd expelled that Kingdom by his Son.
hat *Jupiter* having driven out his Fa-
er from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or
leaſt the *Peloponneſus*; and having
nong thoſe Inhabitants introduced the
e of Agriculture, of Property and
ivility, and eſtabliſhed a Juſt and Re-
lar Kingdom, was by them adored as
ief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli ſubigerunt arva co-
loni.

That his Brothers, Siſters, Sons and
ughters, were Worſhipped likewiſe,
the Inventions of things chiefly uſe-
neceſſary, or agreeable to Human
e. So *Neptune*, for the Art or Im-
vement of *Navigation*; *Vulcan*, for
t of Forging Braſs and Iron; *Mi-*
va, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Muſick,
and

and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandiſe; *Bacchus*, for the Invention of Wine; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any Traces left, by which a probable Conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this Race of *Saturn* flouriſhed in the World, nor conſequently, what Length of Time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of thoſe Names, in very different Times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*; and that the laſt, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very Modern, in reſpect of the other more Ancient, who was contemporary with the Race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are ſaid to have Conquered *India*, is grown too obſcure, by the dark Shades of ſo great Antiquity, or diſguiſed by the Mask of Fables and Fiction of Poets.

The ſame Divine Honours, were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Oſyris*; in whoſe Temple was inſcribed on a Pillar, That he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found neceſſary for the com-

mon

mon good of Mankind, by the *Aſſyrians*, o *Belus*, the Founder of that King-lom, and great Inventer or Improver f Aſtronomy among the *Chaldæans*, y the Original *Latins* or *Hetruſcans*, o *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture to *Italy*; and theſe Three were wor-hipped as Gods by thoſe Ancient and earned Nations.

Ninus and *Seſoſtris* were Renowned r their mighty Conqueſts, and e-eemed the two great Heroes of *Aſſy-a* and of *Egypt*; the firſt having ex-nded his Victories to the River *Indus*, d the other, thoſe of the *Egyptians*, er *Aſia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time *Ninus* is controverted among Hiſto-ns, being by ſome placed Thirteen, others Eight Hundred Years before *rdanapalus*: But that of *Seſoſtris*, is, my Opinion, much harder to be af-med. For I do not ſee how their inion can be allowed, who make him be *Seſack*, that took *Jeruſalem* in time of *Rehoboam*, ſince no more is in Scripture of the Progreſs of that pedition: Nor is the time of it men-ned in the *Græcian* Story, though ne Records are there found, of all t paſſed after the *Trojan* War, and

with Distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesostris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Cholcos*, to have descended from a Colony there Established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks* for freeing their Country from Fierce Wild Beasts, or from Fiercer and Wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from Cruel and Lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more Civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though his Father had been King of the Scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In the ſame Age, flouriſhed *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*; who by the Force and Number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægæan* Iſlands, and moſt of the Coaſts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the Juſtneſs of his Laws, and the Greatneſs of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* Wars, ſo much celebrated in thoſe two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis eaſie to take their Characters from thoſe admirable Pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be obſerved, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were imployed in the Defence of his Country and his Father againſt a Foreign Invaſion: The Valour of *Achilles* was exerciſed in the common Cauſe, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been aſſured by certain Propheſies, that he ſhould dye before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Æneas* having imployed his utmoſt Prowеſs in defence of his Country, ſaved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, ga-

thered up the Remainders of his Ruin-ed Country, ſailed to *Italy*, and there Founded a Kingdom, which gave Riſe to the greateſt Empire of the World.

About Two hundred and fifty Years after theſe, *Lycurgus* inſtituted the *Spar-tan* State, upon Laws and Orders ſo dif-ferent from thoſe uſual in thoſe Times and Countries, that more than Human Authority ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; and the *Pythian* Prieſteſs told him, ſhe did not know whether ſhe ſhould call him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Conſtitu-tions have been more celebrated than his, by the beſt Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the firſt Founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other Poliſhed the Ci-vil and Religious Orders of both in ſuch a Degree, that the Original Inſti-tutions of theſe two Law-givers conti-nued as long as that Glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Coun-try from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Perſian* Empire upon the

Ruins

Ruins of the *Aſſyrian*; adorned it with excellent Conſtitutions and Laws, and extended it Weſtward, by the Conqueſt of all the Leſſer *Aſia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the Life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the trueſt Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue: And 'tis certain his Memory was always certain among the *Perſians*, though not proſecuted by Divine Honours, becauſe that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Repreſentation or Idol; and in the next place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the intire Conqueſt of the *Perſian*, and extended it by the Addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But he gained not the Eſteem or Appellation of an Heroe, though he affected and purted it by his Mothers Stories of his Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Prieſt and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His Pretence was juſtly excluded by his Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Luſt; and more yet by his Cruelties and

his Pride: For true Honour has ſome-
thing in it ſo humorous, as to follow
commonly thoſe who avoid and neg-
lect it, rather than thoſe who ſeek and
purſue it. Beſides, he inſtituted no Or-
ders or Frame of Government, in the
Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Perſia*;
but rather corrupted and diſordered
thoſe he found: And ſeems to have
owed the Succeſs of his Enterpriſes, to
the Councels and Conduct of his Fa-
ther's old Officers; after whoſe Diſgrace
and Fall, immediately ſucceeded that
of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he muſt
be allowed, to have much contributed
to his own Glory and Fame, by a great
native Genius and unlimited Bounty,
and by the greateſt Boldneſs of Enter-
priſe, Scorn of Danger, and Fearleſneſs
of Death, that could be in any Mortal
Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour
and of Fortune, but whether his Vir-
tues or his Faults were greateſt, is hard
to be decided.

Cæſar, who is commonly eſteemed to
have been Founder of the *Roman* Em-
pire, ſeems to have poſſeſſed very emi-
nently, all the Qualities, both Native
and Acquired, that enter into the Com-
poſition of an Heroe, but failed of the

Attribute

ttribute or Honour, becauſe he over-
hrew the Laws of his own Country,
nd Orders of his State, and raiſed his
reatneſs by the Conqueſt of his Fellow-
itizens, more than of their Enemies;
nd after he came to the Empire, lived
ot to perfect the Frame of ſuch a Go-
ernment, or atchieve ſuch Conqueſts as
e ſeems to have had in Deſign.

Theſe Four great Monarchies, with
e ſmaller Kingdoms, Principalities and
tates, that were ſwallowed up by their
onqueſts and Extent, make the Sub-
ct of what is called Ancient Story,
nd are ſo excellently related by the
any *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſtill ex-
nt and in common Vogue, ſo Com-
ented, Enlarged, Reduced into Order
f Time and Place, by many more of
e Modern Writers, that they are known
all Men, who profeſs to ſtudy or en-
rtain themſelves with Reading. The
rders and Inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral
overnments, their Progreſs and Dura-
on, their Succeſſes or Decays, their E-
nts and Revolutions, make the com-
on Themes of Schools and Colleges,
e Study of Learned, and the Conver-
tion of Idle Men, the Arguments of
iſtories, Poems and Romances. From

the Actions and Fortunes of theſe Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Virtue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illuſtrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of theſe Governments are drawn the uſual Inſtructions of Princes and Stateſmen, and the Diſcourſes and Reflections of the greateſt Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Inſtitutions, the Laws and Cuſtoms of theſe Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Juſtice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From theſe they draw their Arguments and Preſidents in all Diſputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the ſeveral Sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accuſed or defended. Concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invaſion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty in Civil Contentions.

Yet the Stage of all theſe Empires and Revolutions of all theſe Heroick Actions, and theſe famous Conſtitutions, (how Great or how Wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited Compaſs of Earth, that leaves out many vaſt Regions of the World, the which, though accounted Barbarous, and little taken Notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a Right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the reſt, that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my Opinion, there are ſome of them, that upon Enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wiſdom of their Conſtitutions, the Extent of their Conqueſts, and the Duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that Midland Part of the World, which was bounded on the Eaſt by the River *Indus*, and on the Weſt by the Atlantick Ocean; on the North by the River *Oxus*, the Caſpian and the Euxine Seas, and the *Danube*; on the South by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth

Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are ſaid to have conquered *India*; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome Parts of it, that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander*'s Atchievements there, ſeem rather like a Journey than a Conqueſt; and though he pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet he left even undiſcovered, the greateſt Parts of that Mighty Region, which by the Ancients was reported to contain an Hundred and eighteen Great and Populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for Parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho' *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with loſs of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed; not much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Fœlix*, and is environed on three ſides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts

Skirts, that join to *Syria*, have entred into the Conqueſts or Commerce of the Four great Empires; but that which ſeems to have ſecured the other, is the ſtony and ſandy Deſarts, through which no Armies can paſs for want of Water.

Now if we conſider the Map of the World, as it lies at preſent before us, ſince the Diſcoveries made by the Navigations of theſe three laſt Centuries, we ſhall eaſily find what vaſt Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all ſides: And tho' paſſing for Barbarous, they have not been eſteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that ſome of theſe out-lying Parts of the World, however unknow by the Ancients, and overlook'd by the modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much Matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene ſo much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vaſt Extent, and Variety of Soils and Climates, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Conſtitutions of Laws and Cuſtoms,

Cuſtoms, the wiſe and laſting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conqueſts that have riſen from ſuch Orders and Inſtitutions.

Now becauſe the firſt Scene is ſuch a beaten Road, and this ſo little known or traced, I am content to take a ſhort Survey of our four great Schemes of Government or Empire, that have ſprung and grown to mighty Heights, lived very long, and flouriſhed much in theſe remote (and as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the fartheſt Degree of our Eaſtern Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*. The next is at the fartheſt Weſtern, which is that of *Perue*. The third is the utmoſt of our Northern Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*. And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the Southern.

For that vaſt Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas* and the Southern Ocean; tho' it be found to ſwarm in People, to abound in Gold, to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite ſmaller Principalities, to be pierced by thoſe two famous Rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a

Race

Race of Men that ſeem hardly of the ſame Species with the reſt of Mankind; Yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any Share in this Eſſay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas* or his Kingdom of old, is ſo obſcured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the Atlantick Iſlands; tho' I know not whether theſe themſelves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the East and South by the Ocean, to the North by a Stone Wall of Twelve hundred Miles long, raiſed againſt the Invaſion of the *Tartars*; and to the Weſt, by vaſt and unpaſſable Mountains or Deſarts, which the Labour or Curioſity of no mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have paſſed the River *Ganges*, he was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impaſſable Marſhes, lying between great Rivers, or ſandy Deſarts or ſteep Mountains, full only of Wild Beaſts, but wholly deſtitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was eſteemed by Ancients the Bound of the Eaſtern World: Since the Uſe of the Compaſs, and Extent of Navigation, it is found that there are ſeveral populous Kingdoms lie between

Ganges

Ganges and the Deſarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*; as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote* and others, lie in this Space, coaſting along the Borders of great Rivers Northwards; which are ſaid to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to riſe from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of theſe Kingdoms is known any other Way of Paſſage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indoſtan*, or the *Mogul*'s Country, there is none other uſual; and ſuch as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the Eaſt, to paſs many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vaſt Sandy Deſarts, and other prodigious High and Steep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beaſt is able to paſs, but only Men on Foot; and over one Mountain particularly eſteemed the higheſt in the World; where the Air is ſo thin, that Men cannot travel over it without Danger of their Lives; and never in Summer without being poiſoned by the Scent of certain Herbs that grow upon it; which is Mortal when they are in Flower. After Eight or Nine Months Journy from the

Mogul's

Mogul's Court, ſeveral Perſons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and ſo to the Imperial City of *Peking*, ſituate in the Northern Parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chineſe* call a World by it ſelf; and eſteem themſelves the only reaſonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on Three Sides; and to the North, only the *Tartars*, whom they eſteem but another Sort of Wild or Brutiſh Men; and therefore they ſay in common Proverb, *That the* Chineſes *only ſee with Two Eyes, and all other Men but with One.*

By this Situation, and by a Cuſtom or Law very ancient among them, of ſuffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vaſt Continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the reſt of the World; and foraſmuch as I can find, was firſt diſcovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*; who about Four hundred Years ago, made a Voyage from *Venice*, thro' *Armenia*, *Perſia*, and ſeveral Parts of *Tartary*, to that which he names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu*, (as he calls them) and

after

after Seventeen Years Residence of his Father and himself, in that Court of the Great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since his Time, and within Two or Three Hundred Years, several Missionary Friars and Jesuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite Pains and Dangers thro' these vast and savage Regions, some from the *Mogul*'s Country, some thro' *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*; which I make no question, (by comparing all their several Accounts and Relations) is the same famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by him called *Cataya*. The reason of this difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of East *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed himself by Conquest, of several Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where he made his Residence, and which was like the rest of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After some time all these Provinces were again recovered by the

Chineſes, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chineſe* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Peking*, (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinſay*) that the Force of his Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier againſt the furious Invaſions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had ſeveral times felt the Rage and Danger.

After this Recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and proſperous under their own Emperors, till about the Year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above Thirty Years, in the end made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Kingdom, and ſo it has ever ſince continued.

This Region, commonly known by the Name of *China*, extends about Eighteen hundred Miles, or Thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of Longitude; but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from Eaſt to Weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any *European*; and the Accounts taken only from Report of

the Natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed, where the Habitable Parts of *China* determine Weſtward, ſince ſome Authors ſay, they end in Mountains, ſtored only with Wild Beaſts and Wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other Commerce with the *Chineſes*, than by Deſcents ſometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes: And other Authors ſay, There are ſuch inacceſſible Mountains even in the midſt of *China*, ſo as the firſt Accounts may have left out great Countries beyond theſe Mountains, which they took for the utmoſt Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever Length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs than Twelve or Thirteen hundred Miles; It muſt be allowed to be the Greateſt, Richeſt and moſt Populous Kingdom now known in the World; and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable Conſtitution of its Government, more than any other.

This Empire conſiſts of Fifteen ſeveral Kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, tho' now governed as Provinces, by their ſeveral Viceroys, who yet live in Greatneſs, Splendor and

Riches, equal to the great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are One hundred and forty five Capital Cities of mighty Extent and magnificent Building, and One thousand three hundred twenty and one lesser Cities, but all walled round; the number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite Growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals, of incredible Length, Conjunctions of Rivers, Convenience of Ways for the Transportation of all Sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great Trade, tho' till very lately, they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now Foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineses* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by the Permission of the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, to come and trade in some Skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Testimonies of their Greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of the famous Wall, and of their City *Pekin*. The Stone-Wall which divides the Northern Parts of *China* from *Tartary*, reckoned

reckoned by ſome Twelve, by others Nine hundred Miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marſhes and Deſerts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches. It is Forty five Foot high, and Twenty Foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain Spaces by great Towers. It was built above Two thouſand Years ago, but with ſuch admirable Architecture, that where ſome Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the reſt is ſtill as entire, as when it was firſt built. The King that raiſed this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were Liſted and Paid, for the Defence of it againſt the *Tartars*, and took their Turns by certain Numbers, at certain Times, for the Guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing ſo large as ſeveral other Cities of *China*, (whereof *Nanking* is eſteemed the greateſt) but is a regular Four-square; the Wall of each Side is Six Miles in length. In each of theſe Sides are Three Gates, and on each Side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a Thouſand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite croſs, with a

through View and Paſſage from each Gate to that which is overagainſt it in the oppoſite Side; and theſe Streets are ranged full of ſtately Houſes.

The Palace of the Emperor is Three Miles in Compaſs, conſiſting of Three Courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the Emperor lodges) is Four hundred Paces Square. The other two are filled with his Domeſticks, Officers and Guards, to the Number of Sixteen thouſand Perſons. Without theſe Courts are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into ſeveral Canals faced with ſquare Stone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable Invention, Coſt and Workmanſhip, that nothing Ancient or Modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambaſſador at *Peking*, ſeems a Sight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are uſually diſtinguiſh'd into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of *China* may be diſtinguiſh'd into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the Body or Maſs of the People who

are

are govern'd; the firſt comprehends all the Magiſtrates that govern, and thoſe who may in time or courſe ſucceed them in the Magiſtracy; for no other than the Learned are ever imployed in the Government, nor any in the greateſt Charges, that are not of thoſe Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages, or Philoſophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Perſons employed in it, there will be a Neceſſity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is obſerved to do, and the reaſon of ſuch different Effects from the ſame Cauſe.

The two great Heroes of the *Chineſe* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whoſe Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about Four thouſand Years ago, and was the firſt Founder of their Kingdom; the Progreſs whereof has ever ſince continued upon their Records ſo clear, that they are eſteemed by the Miſſionary Jeſuits unqueſtionable and infallible. For after the Death of

every King, the Succeſſor appoints certain Perſons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predeceſſors Reign, and of theſe, an Epitome is afterwards drawn and entred into their Regiſters. *Fohu* firſt reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, Diſtinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government; He invented Characters, and left ſeveral ſhort Tables or Writings of Aſtronomy, or Obſervations of the Heavens, or Morality, of Phyſick, and Political Government. The Characters he uſed, ſeem to have been partly ſtraight Lines of different Lengths, and diſtinguiſh'd by different Points; and partly Hieroglyphicks; and theſe in time were followed by Characters, of which each expreſſed one Word.

In theſe ſeveral ways, were for many Centuries, compoſed many Books among the *Chineſes*, in many ſorts of Learning, eſpecially Natural and Moral Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, Phyſick and Agriculture.

Something above Two thouſand Years ago, lived *Confuchu*, the moſt Learned, Wiſe and Virtuous of all the *Chineſes*; and for whom

whom both the King and Magiſtrates, in his own Age, and all of them in the Ages ſince, ſeem to have had the greateſt Deference that has any where been rendred to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digeſted all the Learning of the Ancients, even from the firſt Writing or Tables of *Fohu*, at leaſt, all that he thought neceſſary or uſeful to Mankind, in their Perſonal, Civil or Political Capacities; which were then received and ſince proſecuted with ſo great Eſteem and Veneration, that none has queſtioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the trueſt and beſt Rules of Opinion and Life; ſo that 'tis enough in all Argument, that *Confuchu* has ſaid it.

Some time after, lived a King, who to raiſe a new Period of Time from his own Name and Reign, endeavoured to aboliſh the Memory of all that had paſſed before him, and cauſed all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture. Out of this Ruin to Learning, eſcaped, either by Chance, or ſome Private Induſtry, the Epitoms or Regiſters of the ſeveral Succeſſions of their Kings ſince *Fohu*, and the Works of *Confuchu*, or at leaſt a Part of them, which have lately in *France*, been

been Printed in the Latin Tongue, with a Learned Preface, by ſome of the Miſſionary Jeſuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confutius*.

After the Death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, theſe Writings came abroad; and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chineſe* Learning, were received with general Applauſe, or rather Veneration: Four Learned Men having long addicted themſelves to the Study of theſe Books, writ Four ſeveral Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the ſucceeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning ſhould be taught, ſtudied or exercited, but what was extracted out of theſe Five Books; and ſo Learning has ever ſince continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of theſe Five Men, or rather to thoſe of their Prince of Philoſophers, the Great and Renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of his Writings ſeems to be a Body or Digeſtion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Virtues, either Perſonal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political; and framed for the Inſtitution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families and their Governments, but chiefly of the

laſt;

laſt; the Bent of his Thoughts and Reaſonings, running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meaneſt Peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be Good and Wiſe, and Virtuous as far as his own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of his Country can inſtruct him.

The chief Principles he ſeems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own Natural Reaſon, to the greateſt Height he is capable, ſo as he may never (or as ſeldom as can be) err and ſwerve from the Law of Nature, in the Courſe and Conduct of his Life: That this being not to be done without much Thought, Inquiry and Diligence, makes Study and Philoſophy neceſſary; which teaches Men what is Good and what is Bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs; and conſequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in his ſeveral Station or Capacity. That in this

this Perfection of Natural Reaſon, conſiſts the Perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmoſt or ſupreme Happineſs of Mankind. That the Means and Rules to attain this Perfection, are chiefly not to will or deſire any thing but what is conſonant to his Natural Reaſon, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the Good and Happineſs of other Men, as well as our own. To this end is preſcribed the conſtant Courſe and Practice of the ſeveral Virtues, known and agreed ſo generally in the World; among which, Courteſie or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In ſhort, the whole Scope of all *Confutius* has writ, ſeems aimed only at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well; how Parents, Maſters and Magiſtrates ſhould rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects ſhould obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Inſtructions, for either Perſonal, Oeconomical, or Political Wiſdom and Virtue, is diſcourſed by him, with great Compaſs of Knowledge, Excellence of Senſe, Reach of Wit, and illuſtrated with Elegance of Stile and Aptneſs of Similitudes and Examples, as may be eaſily conceived by any that can

can allow for the Lameneſs and Shortneſs of Tranſlations out of Language and Manners of Writing, infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Virtue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the *Chineſes*, and all other Sorts are either diſuſed or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholaſtick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractiſed, and ſerves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raiſe Doubts and Diſputes, Heats and Feuds, Animoſities and Factions, in all Controverſies of Religion or Government. Even Aſtrology and Phyſick, and Chymiſtry, are but ignoble Studies, tho' there are many among them that excel in all theſe; and the Aſtrologers are much in Vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; the Chymiſts apply themſelves chiefly to the Search of the Univerſal Medicine, for Health and Length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Phyſicians excel in the Knowledge of the Pulſe, and of all ſimple Medicines, and go little further; but in the firſt, are ſo skilful

skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many Hours or Days a ſick Man can laſt, but how many Years a Man in perfect ſeeming Health may live, in caſe of no Accident or Violence. And by Simples they pretend to relieve all Diſeaſes that Nature will allow to be cured. They never Let Blood, but ſay, if the Pot boils too faſt, there is no need of lading out any of the Water, but only of taking away the Fire from under it; and ſo they allay all Heats of the Blood, by Abſtinence, Dyet, and cooling Herbs.

But all this Learning is Ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only Eſſential and Incorporate to their Government; into which none enters without having firſt paſſed thro' the ſeveral Degrees. To attain it, is firſt neceſſary the Knowledge of their Letters or Characters; and to this muſt be applied at leaſt Ten or Twelve Years Study and Diligence, and Twenty for great Perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of ſo many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only ſo many Characters, expreſſing ſo many Words: Theſe are ſaid by ſome, to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixſcore thouſand;

and

and upon the whole, their Writing ſeems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in caſe there were a different Character invented for every Word in our Language. Their Writing is neither from the Left Hand to Right like the *European*, nor from Right to Left like the *Aſiatick* Languages, but from Top to Bottom of the Paper in one ſtrait Line, and then beginning again at the Top till the Side be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language, and next, in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius* and his four great Diſciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both theſe, ſo he is more eſteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unleſs it be diſcovered by retaining the Principal Parts of him in their Memories, and the Practice of him in their Lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by Three Degrees: The Firſt may reſemble that of Sophiſters in our Colleges after Two or Three Years ſtanding; and this Degree is conferred by Publick Examiners Appointed for that Purpoſe; who go through the Chief Cities

of

of each Province once a Year, and upon Scrutiny, admit ſuch of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, Regiſter their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this firſt Form of the Learned.

The Second Degree is promoted with more Form, and performed once in Three Years, in a great College built for that Purpoſe in the Chief City of each Kingdom; by ſeveral Examiners Appointed by the King, and ſtrict Enquiries and Queſtions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the ſeveral Writings, produced by the ſeveral Pretenders, and ſubmitted to the Examiners. This Degree may reſemble that of Maſters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a New Badge belonging to it.

The Third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred but in the Imperial City of *Peking*, with great Forms and Solemnities, after much Examining, and Deliberation of the Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe; and of this Degree there are never to be above Three hundred at a time in the whole Empire, beſides ſuch as are actu-

ally

ally in the Magiſtracy or Government; who are all choſen out of the Perſons that have commenced or attained this Degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoins to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worſhip and Ceremonies appointed in Honour of his Memory, as the Great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of theſe Perſons all their Councils, and all their Magiſtracies are compoſed; out of theſe are choſen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With theſe the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies adviſe upon all great Occaſions; and their Learning and Virtue make them eſteemed more able for the Execution and Diſcharge of all Publick Employments, than the longeſt Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found Braver and more Generous in expoſing their Lives upon all great Occaſions, than the boldeſt Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is Abſolute Monarchy, there being no other

Laws in *China*, but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewiſe Hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Councils, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; ſo that all Matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requeſts made to the King, they are ratified and ſigned by him, and ſo paſs into Laws.

All great Offices of State are likewiſe conferred by the King, upon the ſame Recommendations or Petitions of his ſeveral Councils; ſo that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himſelf, nor by Favour of any Miniſter, by Flattery or Corruption, but by Force of Appearance of Merit, of Learning, and of Virtue; which obſerved by the ſeveral Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The Chief Officers are either thoſe of State reſiding conſtantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the Provincial Officers, Viceroys, and Magiſtrates or Mandarines

Fo

For the First, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking*, Six ſeveral Councils; or, as ſome Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it ſelf into Six ſmaller, but diſtinct Branches. Some Difference is alſo made by Writers, concerning the Nature or the Buſineſs of theſe Councils. But that which ſeems moſt generally agreed, is, That the First of theſe Six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are choſen according to their Learning and Merit. The Second is the Council of Treaſury, which has Inſpection into the whole Revenue, and the Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The Thitd takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feaſts and Ceremonies belonging to them; as likewiſe of Learning, and the Schools or Colleges deſigned for it. The Fourth is the Council of War, which diſpoſes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all Matters of War and Peace, that is by the King's Command iſſued upon their Repreſentations. The Fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the Sixth is a Council or Court of Juſtice or Judicature, in all Cauſes both Civil and Criminal.

Each of these Councils has a Presi-dent and two Assistants or chief Secre-taries, whereof one sits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; who digest and register the Debates and Or-ders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Coun-sellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the seve-ral Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries; from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of Mo-ment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these Six, several smaller Councils; as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Housholds and his Domestick Chancery or Jus-stice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above Five or Six in Number but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience; who after having passed, with great Applause through the other Councils or Govern-ments of Provinces, are at last advanced

to this Supreme Dignity, and ſerve as a Privy-Council, or rather a *Junto*, ſitting with the Emperor himſelf; which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented all the Reſults or Requeſts of the other Councils; and being by their Advice approved, they are by the Emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe are always attended by ſome of the Chiefeſt and moſt Renowned Philoſophers or Sages of the Kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and ſerve him in receiving all Petitions, and give their Opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*; as alſo upon any Matters of great Moment and Difficulty, when they are conſulted: And theſe are choſen out of two Aſſemblies reſiding at *Peking*, and conſiſting of Sixty Men each; but all choice Perſons, whoſe Wiſdom and Virtue are generally known and applauded. They are imployed in all Matters of Learning, and giving neceſſary Orders therein; keeping all the Publick Writings, and ordering and digeſting them; regiſtring all Laws and Orders of State; and out of theſe are appointed by each ſucceeding King, ſome Perſons to relate and

regiſter the Times and Actions of his Predeceſſor. They are at their Leiſure much given to Poetry; in which, they compile the Praiſes of Virtuous Men and Actions, Satyrs againſt Vice, Inſcriptions for Monuments and Triumphal Arches, and ſuch like Compoſitions. And Laſtly, out of theſe (as they grow in Eſteem and Fame of Wiſdom and Virtue) are choſen and advanced by Degrees, the Officers of State, and Counſellors in the ſeveral Councils; and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been one of theſe two Aſſemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire, has the ſame Councils, or ſome very like them for the Government of that particular Province; but there is beſides in each, a Surintendant, ſent more immediately from Court, to inſpect the courſe of Affairs; a Cenſor of Juſtice and Manners, without whoſe Approval, no Capital Sentences are to be executed; and a Third Officer imployed by the Empreſs, in the nature of an Almoner; whoſe Buſineſs is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and Diſtreſſed, and ſetting free Priſoners upon ſmall Debts or Offences; there

s beſides, in each Province, a parti-
ular Council, to take care of Learn-
ng, and to appoint Rules and Exami-
ers for the ſeveral Degrees thereof.

It were endleſs to enumerate all the excellent Orders of this State, which eem contrived by a Reach of Senſe nd Wiſdom, beyond what we meet with, in any other Government of the World; but by ſome few, the reſt may e judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has Revenue aſſigned him, and a City where he is bound to reſide, and never o ſtir out of it, without the Emperor's eave. All Degrees of People are di-tinguiſh'd by their Habit, and the ſeve-al Officers by ſeveral Badges upon hem: And the Colour worn by the Emperor, which is Yellow, is never uſed by any other Perſon whatſoever. Every Houſe has a Board over the Door, wherein is written the Number, Sex nd Quality of the Perſons living in t; and to a certain Number of Houſes, one is appointed to inſpect the reſt, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province where he was born, unleſs it be Military; which is grounded up-

on the Belief, that in Matters of Juſtice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in thoſe of War, Men will fight beſt for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above Three Years, unleſs upon a New Election; and none put out for Miſcarriage in his Office, is again admitted to any Imployment. The two great Hinges of all Governments, Reward and Puniſhment, are no where turned with greater Care, nor exerciſed with more Bounty and Severity. Their Juſtice is rigorous upon all Offences againſt the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon Corruption in Judges. Beſides this, Inquiſition is made into their Ignorance and Weakneſs, and even into Careleſneſs and Raſhneſs in their Sentences; and as the firſt is puniſhed with Death, ſo theſe are with Diſmiſſion and Diſgrace. The Rewards of Honour, (beſides thoſe of Advancement) are conferred by Patents from the Emperor, expreſſing Merits and granting Privileges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inſcriptions: And to Merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incenſe, and appointing Prieſts

for

or the Service of them. Agriculture is ncouraged by ſo many ſpecial Privi- eges from the Crown, and the Com- non Laws or Cuſtoms of the Country, hat whatever Wars happen, the Til- ers of the Ground are untouched, as f they were Sacred, like Prieſts in o- her Places; ſo as no Country in the World was ever known to be ſo culti- ated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honour and Reſpect, is no where paid o Nobility and Riches ſo much, as it is ere to Virtue and Learning, which e equally regarded, both by the rince and the People: And the Ad- ancement to Office of Perſons only for xcelling in thoſe Qualities, prevents e Cankers of Envy and Faction, that orrupt and deſtroy ſo many other Go- ernments. Every one ſeeking Pre- rment here, only by Merit, attributes it that of other Men. Tho' the King e the moſt abſolute in the World, ſince ere are no other Laws in *China* but hat he makes; yet all Matters being rſt digeſted and repreſented by his ouncils, the Humours and Paſſions of e Prince enter not into the Forms or onduct of the Government, but his erſonal Favours to Men or Women, are diſtributed

distributed in the Preferments of his Houshold, or out of the vast Revenue that is particularly applied to it, for Support of the greatest Expence and Magnificence that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better Served and Obeyed, more Honoured or rather Adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Ease and Felicity.

Upon these Foundations and Institutions, by such Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason and Contrivance; and in Practice to exceed the very Speculations of other Men and all those imaginary Schemes of the *European* Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopia's* or *Oceana's* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the Vastness, the Opulence, the Populousness of this Region, with the Ease and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the Length of Time this Government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the *Assyrian Monarchy*, which was Thir-

tee

een hundred Years, and the longeſt Period of any Government we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treaſures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their Publick Buildings and Works would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Teſtimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinius Kercherus*, with ſeveral other Relations, in *Italian*, *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*; either by Miſſionary Friars, or Perſons employ'd thither upon Trade or Embaſſies upon that Occaſion: Yet the whole Government is repreſented, as a thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family; tho' ſome Writers affirm the Number of People in *China*, before the laſt *Tartar* Wars, to have been above Two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut through the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are ſo infinite, and of ſuch Lengths, and ſo perpetually filled with Boats and Veſſels of all Kinds, that the Writer believes there are near as many People in theſe, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as thoſe upon the Land. 'Tis

'Tis true, that as Phyſicians ſay, the higheſt Degree of Health in a Body ſubjects it to the greateſt Danger and Violence of ſome Diſeaſe; ſo the Perfection of this Government or Conſtitution, has had the ſame Effect, joined with the Accident of their Situation upon ſuch a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For theſe, by the Hardneſs and Poverty of their Country and their Lives are the Boldeſt and the Fierceſt People in the World, and the moſt Enterprizing. On t'other ſide, the Excellence of the *Chineſe* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Eaſe, Plenty and Luxury in time Effeminate, and thereby expoſes them to frequent Attempts and Invaſions of their Savage Neighbours. Three ſeveral times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great Parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long Eſtabliſhments there, have been expelled. Till (as we ſaid before) about the Year 1650, they atchieved the compleat and intire Conqueſt of the whole Empire after a bloody War of above Thirty Years. But the Force of the Conſtitution and Government, appears in no Circumſtance or Light, ſo great as in this, that it has waded ſafe through

reat Tempeſts and Inundations, as Six Changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and Four Conqueſts by Foreign and Barbarous Forces. For under he preſent *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues ſtill the ſame, and in the Hands of the *Chineſe* Learned; and all he Change that appears to have been nade by ſuch a Storm or Revolution, as been only, That a *Tartar* Race ſits n the Throne inſtead of a *Chineſe*; and he Cities and ſtrong places are Gariſon'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by egrees into the Manners, Cuſtoms and anguage of the *Chineſes*. So great a eſpect, or rather Veneration, is paid o this Wiſe and Admirable Conſtitution, ven by its Enemies and Invaders, that oth Civil Uſurpers, and Foreign Conuerors, vie with Emulation, who ſhall nake greateſt Court, and give moſt Support to it, finding no other Means to ſeure their own Safety and Eaſe, by the Obedience of the People, than the Eſtaliſhment and Preſervation of their Anient Conſtitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chineſe* Wiſdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity nd Civility, by all we either read or ſee

ſee of them, is apt to be leſſened by their groſs and ſottiſh Idolatry ; but this it ſelf is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who Worſhip after their Manner whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village or Family ; and the Temples and Prieſts belonging to them, are in uſual Requeſt among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal ; and this without Temples Idols or Prieſts. And the Emperor only is allowed to Sacrifice at certain Times by himſelf or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking* ; one dedicated to Heaven and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to ſhew how the furtheſt Eaſt and Weſt may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Conſtitutions, by paſſing at one Leap from theſe of *China*, to thoſe of *Peru*.

SECT

SECT. III.

TIS known enough, that about the Year 1484, *Alonſo Sanchez*, Maſter of a *Spaniſh* Veſſel, that uſually raded from thoſe Coaſts to the *Canaries* nd *Madera's*, was in his Paſſage between heſe Iſlands, ſurprized with a furious torm at Eaſt, ſo violent, that he was orced to let his Ship drive before it ithout any Sail; and ſo black, that ithin Twenty eight Days he could not ake the Height of the Sun. That he as at length caſt upon a Shore, but hether Iſland or Continent, he could ot tell, but full of Savage People. That fter infinite Toils, Dangers and Miſe- es of Hunger and Sickneſs, he made t length one of the *Tercera* Iſlands, ith only Five Men left of Seventeen he arried out; and meeting there with he Famous *Columbo*, made him ſuch elations, and ſo pertinent Accounts of is Voyage, as gave Occaſion for the Diſcovery of *America*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, by

by this Man ſo renowned in our Moder
Story.

Whatever Predictions have been ſinc
found out, or applied towards the Di
covery of this New World, or Storie
told of a certain Prince in *Wales*, ha
ving run the ſame Fortune, or of th
ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, b
all I have read upon this Subject, an
Reaſon to believe, that any Mortal
from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever trace
theſe unknown Paths of that Weſter
Ocean, or left the leaſt Foot-ſteps o
having diſcovered thoſe Countries, be
fore *Alonſo Sanchez* and his Crew. Up
on the Arrival of the *Spaniards* ther
with *Columbus*, they found Nature a
naked as the Inhabitants; in moſt Part
no Thought of Buſineſs, further than th
moſt Natural Pleaſures or Neceſſities o
Life; Nations divided by natura
Bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountain
or difference of Language; Quarrel
among them, only for Hunger or Luſt
the Command in Wars, given to th
Strongeſt or the Braveſt; and in Peace
taken up or exerciſed by the Bolde
among them; and their Lives com
monly ſpent in the moſt innocen
Entertainments of Hunting, Fiſhing

Feaſ

Feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions, were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendor of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story so entertaining, as the Relations of the several Learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented by the common Answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast, to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of* Montezuma? As if they thought the whole World was so. They might truly call a Slave, for no Dominion was ever so absolute, so Tyrannous, and so Cruel

as his. Among other Tributes impoſed on the People, one was of Men to be Sacrificed every Year to an Ugly Deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleaſed of poor Victims, were laid upon ſuch Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there choſen by Lot, to ſatisfy ſuch Bloody and Inhuman Taxes. Theſe were often Influenced by the Prieſts, who when they ſaw Men grow Negligent, either in reſpect to themſelves, or Devotion to their Idols, would ſend to tell the King, That the Gods were Hungry, and thereupon, the common Tribute was raiſed; ſo as that Year, the *Spaniards* Landed and Invaded *Mexico*, there had been above Thirty Thouſand Men Sacrificed to this Cruel Superſtition. And this was ſaid to have given great occaſion for the eaſy Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submiſſions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in *Peru*, by the general Hatred and Averſion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Baſtard of the *Ynca*'s Family, had firſt by Practices and Sub-

Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raiſed himſelf to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with Mercileſs Cruelty, all the Maſculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Eſtate, or near it, after that Line had laſted pure and ſacred, and Reigned with unſpeakable Felicity, both to themſelves and their Subjects, for above Eight Hundred Years.

This Kingdom is ſaid to have extended near Seven Hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and about an Hundred and Twenty in Breadth: 'Tis bounded on the Weſt by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the Eaſt by Mountains impaſſable for Men or Beaſts, and as ſome write, even Birds themſelves; the height being ſuch, as makes their tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the North 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the South with another, which ſeparates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Megallen* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Manco Copac*, and his Wife and Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty

Lake, which is ſtill Sacred with them upon this occaſion.

Before this time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes, but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be ſecure from Wild Beaſts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Neighbours. When *Mango Copac*, and his Siſter, came firſt into theſe naked Lands, as they were Perſons of excellent Shape and Beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch Cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual habit of the *Ynca*'s, by which Name they called themſelves. They told the People who came firſt about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the *Sun*, and that their Father, taking pity of the miſerable Condition of Mankind had ſent them down to reclaim them from thoſe beſtial Lives, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely by obſerving ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders, as their Father the *Sun* had

com

commanded these his Children to teach them. The great Rule they first taught was. That every Man should live according to Reason, and consequently, neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them, because it was against all common Reason, to make one Law for our selves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they should worship the *Sun*, who took care of the whole World, gave life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no pains of his own, but to go round the World every day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two Children down on purpose, for the good and happiness of Mankind, and to Rule them with the same care and goodness that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts most necessary for Life, as *Mango Copac*, to sow *Mayz* (or the common Indian Grain) at certain seasons, to preserve it against others, to build Houses against inclemencies of Air, and danger of

Wild-Beasts, to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families, to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of Nakedness, to tame and nourish such Creatures as might be of common use and sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to Spin and Weave, both Cotton, and certain coarse Woolls of some Beasts among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the *Sun*, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father the *Sun*, had given it him, and bid him when he Travelled Northward from the Lake, he should every time he rested strike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a Temple to the *Sun*, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that City, which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the high *Casco*, and t'other the low, and began here to be a Lawgiver to these People. In each of these were at first a Thousand Families, which he caused all to be Registred, with the Numbers in each. This he did by strings of several Colours, and Knots of several Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both Accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expressed of their Minds, as was necessary in Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor consequently Disputes for Avarice, with their Consequences, ever entred.

He instituted Decurions thro' both these Colonies, that is, one over every ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a Hundred, a fourth over Five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thousand; and to this last, they gave the name of Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Censor, a Patron, and a Judge and Arbiter in small Controversies among

thoſe under his charge. They took
care that every one cloathed themſelves
laboured, and lived according to the
orders given them by the *Ynca*'s, from
their Father the *Sun*; among which one
was, That none who could work, ſhould
be idle, more than to reſt after labour;
and that none who could not work, by
Age, Sickneſs. or Invalidity, ſhould
want, but be maintain'd by the others
Pains. Theſe were ſo much obſerved
that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and
during the long Race of the *Ynca* Kings
no Beggar was ever known, and no
Woman ever ſo much as went to ſee a
Neighbour, but with their Work in
their Hands, which they followed all
the time the Viſit laſted. Upon this, I
remember a ſtrain of Refin'd Civility
among them, which was, That when
any Woman went to ſee another of
equal, or ordinary Birth, ſhe Worked at
her own Work in the other's Houſe, but
if ſhe made a Viſit to any of the Palla's
(which was the name by which they
called all the Women of the true Royal
Blood, as *Ynca*'s was that of the Men)
then they immediately deſired the Palla
to give them a piece of her own Work,
and the Viſit paſſed in working for her.

Idle-

Idleneſs, ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſh'd by ſo many Stripes in Publick, and the Diſgrace was more ſenſible than the Pain. Every Colony had one ſupream Judge, to whom the lower *Decurions* remitted great and difficult caſes, or to whom in (ſuch caſe) the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge above a day and a night, became Guilty of it, and liable to the ſame Puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Diſobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women, as he could). The Puniſhment of all Crimes, was either Corporal Pains, or Death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes, whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame nature, and deſerved the ſame puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the *Sun*: Next, That to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in ſtrength and liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed,

or

or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other ſide, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the guilt and puniſhment of them for his warning or example. Theſe Orders had ſo great Force and Effect, that many times a whole Year paſſed without the Execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the diſuſe of other poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their firſt great Heroe, or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entailed upon their whole Race, in the courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Ynca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular qualities have been obſerved in old *Rome*, to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral Hundred Years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerij*, Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People, in that of the *Appij*, which may come from the force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

ample. 'Tis certain no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater Teſtimonies, than the *Ynca*'s, of an excellent inſtitution, by the progreſſes and ſucceſſes, both in the propagation and extent of Empire, in force and plenty, in greatneſs and magnificence of all Publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, High ways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to common eaſe, ſafety, and utility of human Life: So as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming as to prefer the Civil Conſtitutions of *Mango Copac* before thoſe of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Lawgivers ſo celebrated in the more known parts of the World.

To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a compaſs of Land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun; a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every Family, according to their number; and a fourth to the *Ynca*. In this order the whole was Tilled, and the Harveſt or Product laid up in ſeveral Granaries; out of which

it

it was distributed by Officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every Decurion, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Solicitor, for relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the Publick Registers, an Account of all that were Born, and of all that dyed under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony, or People he was Born in, without leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it, (by some parts or marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished.) None to Marry out of it, no more than the *Ynca*'s out of their own Blood.

The *Ynca* that Reigned, was called *Capa Ynca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennor*, or *Only Lord*. He Ever Married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. once in two Years he assembled all the Unmarried *Yncas*, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years Old, and there in Publick Married all such as he

he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The ſame was done among the Vulgar, by the Curaca of each People.

Every Family at their time of Meals, Eat with their Doors open, ſo that all might ſee their Temperance and Order.

By theſe and other ſuch Laws and Inſtitutions, *Mango Copac* firſt ſettled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplied iuto many others, by the willing confluence and recourſe of many ſeveral People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the ſweetneſs and clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Ynca*'s, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a juſt, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be ſo honoured or adored, that it was like Sacriledge for any common Perſon ſo much as to touch the *Ynca* without his leave; which was given as a Grace to thoſe who ſerved him well,

well, or to new Subjects that ſubmitted to him.

After the Extent of his Kingdom into great compaſſes of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary ſubmiſſion of the People, as to ſome Evangelical, rather than Legal Doctrines or Inſtitutions; *Mango Copac* aſſembled all his Curaca's, and told him, That his Father the *Sun*, had commanded him to extend his Inſtitutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the good and happineſs of Mankind; and for that purpoſe, with Armed Troops to go to thoſe remoter Parts that had not yet receiv'd them, and to reduce them to their obſervance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happineſs that was offered him by ſuch Divine Bounty, but to diſtreſs only ſuch as refuſed, without killing any that did not aſſail them, and then to do it juſtly in their own Defence.

For this deſign, he formed and aſſembled Troops of Men, Armed both with Offenſive, and chiefly with Defenſive Weapons. He caſt them into the Order of Decurions, in the ſame manner as he had done Families; to every

very Ten Men was one Officer, ano-
her to Fifty, and another to One
Hundred, a Fourth to Five Hundred,
nd a Fifth to a Thouſand. There
as a Sixth over Five Thouſand, and
Seventh as a General over Ten Thou-
and; of which number his firſt Army
as compoſed

With this and other ſuch Armies, he
educed many new Territories under his
mpire, declaring to every People he
pproached, the ſame things he had
one firſt to thoſe who came about him
ear the great Lake; and offering them
e benefit of the Arts he had taught,
e Orders he had Inſtituted, the Pro-
ction he had given his Subjects, and
e Felicity they enjoyed under it.
hoſe who ſubmitted were received in-
the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with
e reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who re-
ſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by
s Forces till they were neceſſitated to
cept of his Offers and Conditions.
e uſed no Offenſive Weapons againſt
y till they Attacked them, and then
efenſive only at firſt, till the danger
d ſlaughter of his Men grew other-
iſe unavoidable; then he ſuffered his
rces to fall upon them, and kill with-

out

out Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately Reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats or Diſtreſſes, or Bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his Sacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral days, and then Incorporated them into the Body of his Empire and gave to each of them Cloaths to Wear, and Corn to Sow.

By theſe ways, and ſuch Heroick Virtues, and by the length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to Command); and in each of them eſtabliſhed three Supream Councils, the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of War, and the third of the Revenue, of which an *Ynca* was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a Long and Adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-Children, with his eld-

eſt Son, to whom he left his Kingdom: And told them, that for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the *Sun*, from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all, to go on in the paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this courſe only, they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the *Sun*, and be as ſuch Honoured and Eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially, and more earneſtly to the *Ynca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to Govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the *Sun*; and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in time to reſt with his Father the *Sun*, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Ynca's* which laſted Eight Hundred Years with the ſame Orders, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

I will ſay nothing of the Greatneſs, Magnificence and Riches of their Build-

ings, Palaces, or Temples, especially those of the *Sun*; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feasts, their Military Exercises and Honours. But as testimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was Five Hundred Leagues plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, so that a Carriage might drive through that whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each side, and set with Trees, whose Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that passed.

I shall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that tho' the Vulgar Worshiped only the *Sun*, yet the *Amauta*'s, who were their Sages or Philosophers, taught, that the *Sun* was only the great Minister of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a Great and Sumptuous Temple was dedicated. This Word is Interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del Mundo:* Or, *He that animatas or enlivens the World*, and seems to be yet a more

more Refined Notion of the Deity, than that of the *Chineſes*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt I think, be allowed, that Human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and ſtrength of Reaſon and of Wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia* have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the ſame Effects, and that the ſame Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame Heroick Vertue, or Tranſcendent Genius, in what parts ſoever, or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE Third Survey I propoſed to make in this Eſſay upon Heroick Virtue, was that of the Northern Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxin* and the *Caſpian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the Eaſt, and the *Danube* to the Weſt, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was called all by one general name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwiſe than by the defeats or diſgraces received in their Expeditions againſt theſe fierce Inhabitants of thoſe barren Countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army, by the Eaſtern *Scythians*, and the ſhameful flight of *Darius* from the Weſtern.

This vaſt Region which extends from the North Eaſt Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the North Weſt, that waſhes the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and ſome Northern parts of *Germany*, tho' compriſed by the Antiens under the

the common name of *Scythia* was distinguished into the *Asiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous Nations may be called the Eastern *Scythians*, who lie on that side of the *Tanais*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the Western that lie on this. Among the first, the *Massagetæ* were the most known or talkt of by the Antient Writers: and among the last, the *Getæ* and the *Sarmatæ*. The first is now comprehended under the general name of great *Tartary*, and the second under those of the lesser *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sueden*, and *Denmark*; the two last styling themselves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vast Territory is inhabited Northward by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretend to know, or from how remote Corners of those frozen Mountains, some of those fierce Nations first crept out, whose Force and Arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the course of Conquest has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon

the ſofter, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, becauſe Men commonly Attack with greater fierceneſs and courage than they Defend, being in one ſpirited by deſire, and in the other uſually damped by Fear; I cannot tell, but certain it is, how celebrated ſoever the four great Monarchies have been, by the VVritings of ſo many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the World that was ever ſubject to *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps ſome little Iſlands) that has not been Ravaged and Conquered by ſome of thoſe Northern Nations, whom they reckoned and deſpiſed as Barbarous: Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the Ruins of the Old; which may juſtly Mortify the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reaſonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wiſdom of their Laws, and Force of their Diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the period

period of that Race in the *Assyrian* Empire, and were Masters of *Asia* for fifteen Years, till they returned home upon Domestick occasions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and slain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a VVoman, whose VVit and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story; that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Hero of the Eastern *Scythians* or *Tartars*, I esteem to have been *Tamarlane*; and whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest Conqueror that was ever in the World, at least that appears upon any present Records of Story. His Atchievments were great upon *China*, where he subdued many Provinces, and forced their King to such Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impose. He made VVar against the *Muscovites* with the same success, and partly by force, partly by consent, gained a passage thro' their Territories for that vast Army, which he led against *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the VVorld). He conquered this proud Turk and his whole Empire, as far as the *Hellespont* which

which he croſſed, and made a Viſit to the poor Greek Emperour at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſent to make Alliance with him upon his firſt Invaſion of *Bajazet*, at whoſe Mercy this Prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamarlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he obſerved this Alliance with the Greeks; for having been received at *Conſtantinople* with all the Submiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the greatneſs and ſtructure of that Noble City, and ſaid, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World, and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to poſſeſs it for his own, yet after many Honours exchanged between theſe two Princes, he left this City in the fredom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Poſſeſſions he found them, went back into *Aſia*, and in his return Conquered *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever ſince boaſted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all theſe Conqueſts he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and Dyed a fair and

natural

natural Death, which was a ſtrain of Felicity as well as Greatneſs, beyond ny of the Conquerors of the Four Re-owned Monarchies of the World. He was without queſtion, a Great and He-oick Genius, of great Juſtice, exact Diſcipline, generous Bounty, and much iety, adoring one God, tho' he was either Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, nd deſerved a Nobler Character than ould be allowed by Modern Writers any perſon of a Nation ſo unlike emſelves.

The *Turks* were another Race of theſe aſtern *Scythians*, their Original Coun-ies being placed by ſome upon the orth-Eaſt, by others upon the North-eſt Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and per-aps both may have contributed to fur-iſh ſuch uumbers as have over-run ſo eat a part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. ut I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of em and their Conqueſts in the next ction.

That part of *Scythia* that lies between e two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boriſ-nes*, whereof the one runs into the *ſpian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* a, was the Seat of the *Getæ*, whom *erodotus* mentions, as then known by

the

the name of *Getæ Immortales*, becauſe they believed that when they Dyed, they ſhould go to *Zamolxis*, and injoy a new Life in another World, at leaſt ſuch of them as lived according to his Orders and Inſtitutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this name of *Getæ* came that of *Gothæ*; and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole Northern Extent, I take to have been the vaſt Hive out of which iſſued ſo many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the ſeveral names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgans*, *Francs*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at ſeveral times and places upon the ſeveral Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like ſo many Tempeſts, tore in pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the Inhabitants, Language, Cuſtoms, Laws, the uſual names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invaſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be poſſeſſed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*,

e Southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* the *Vandals*, the East or *Catalonia*, the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that ontinent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was sub-ued by the *Francs*, and *Britain* by e *Saxons*; both which Nations are ought to have come anciently from e more Northern Reigions, and seated emselves in those parts of *Germany* that ere afterwards called by their Names, om whence they proceeded in time to ake their later Conquests. The *Scutes* ho Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and ossessed them under the names of *Al-n Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to ve come from *Norway*, and to have tained more of the ancient *Scythians* efore the *Goths* came into those parts) th in their Language and Habit, as t of Mantles, and in the custom of moving from one part to another, ac-rding to the Seasons or Conveniences Pasture. The *Normans* that came in-*France*, I take likewise to be a later ce from *Norway*, but after the *Go-ck* Orders and Institutions have gain-more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those times content emselves to lay the Disgraces and ins of their Countries, upon the numbers

numbers and fierceneſs of theſe Savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own diſunions and diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſy Conqueſts: But I cannot believe, that the ſtrange Succeſſes and Victorious Progreſſes of theſe Northern Conquerors, ſhould have been the effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in *Europe*, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them ſome force of Order, ſome reach of Conduct, as well as ſome Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that ſo ſtrange Adventures could not be atchieved, but by ſome Enchanted Knights.

That which firſt gave me this thought, was the Reflection upon thoſe Verſes in *Lucan*.

——*Populus quos deſpicit Arctos*
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum reditura parcere vitæ.

Happy

appy in their Miſtake thoſe People whom
he Northern Pole Aſpects, whom fear of Death,
The greateſt of all human fears) ne'er moves;
rom hence their Courage prone to ruſh on Steel,
eir Minds deſpiſing Death, they think it mean
ſpare a Life that muſt again return.

By this Paſſage it appears, that Six-
en Hundred Years ago thoſe Nor-
ernPeople were diſtinguiſh'd from all
hers, by a fearleſneſs of Death,
ounded upon the belief of another
fe, which made them deſpiſe the
re of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an Opinion were firſt
fuſed among them by *Zamolxis*, and
opagated by *Odin* among his Fol-
wers, or by him Invented, I will not
njecture; it may have been either
e or t'other, ſince the *Goths* he led
o the Northweſt parts of *Europe* are
reed to have come from the *Getæ*,
o are placed near the River *Tanais*.
r thoſe vaſt *Scythian* Regions were
ided into infinite ſeveral Nations,
arated by the common natural
Bounds

Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marſhes. Each of theſe Countries, was like a mighty Hive, which by the vigour of Propagation and health of Climate, growing too full of People, threw out ſome new ſwarms at certain periods of time, that took Wing, and ſought out ſome new abodes, expelling or ſubduing the old Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent Humours or Diſpoſitions. Sometimes the Expelled Nations took Heart and when they fled from one Country Invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of ſome cruel Neighbours, upon ohers that were weaker, but more innocent; and ſo like Waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty length of Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe Nations they firſt Invaded, by their voluntary acceſſion into the ſhares or hopes of their future Fortunes, and ſo went on to further Conqueſts.

The

The usual manner of these Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew so full of People for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themselves into two Bands, whereof one stayed at home to Inhabit and Defend their own, and t'other went to seek new Adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of Arms, and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two Divisions. That Band or Colony that went abroad, chose their Leader among those in most Repute and Esteem for Wisdom or for Courage, and these were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those Countries they Conquer'd, and chose for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

It seems agreed of the curious Inquirers into the Antiquities of the Runnick Language and Learning, that *Odin* or *Woden* or *Goden* (according

Excerpta ex Edda.

Hic Odinus Fatidicus erat, ut & ejus Conjux, unde nomen suum in Septentrione præcunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hâc motus causâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriusq; sexis. Quascunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam hominibus similiores ab universis

universis judicati. nec prius substite unt quam terram ingressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamq; Regionem late possedit, quam cum distribuisset inter Filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Westphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; Ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quæ nunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, & quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlefus genitus est cujus posteri Skioldungar sive Skioldiades nominantur à quo stirpe Daniæ Regis descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus Heros in Asgordia prope Tanaim, Sacrorum Gentilium Summus antistes, duodecim Senatores qui cæteris pietate & sapientia præstarent Religioni curandæ & Juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesq; suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncubabant Othinus fratribus suis Regnum Asgardiæ commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus & inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in regendum commisit. Inaudi-

ti

cording to th different Nor thern Dialects was the first and great Hero o the Western *Scythians*. That he led a mighty Swarm of the *Getes* under the name of *Goths* from the *Asiatick Scythia*, into the fartheſt North west parts o *Europe*: That he seated and spread his Kingdom round the whole Baltick Sea, and over all the Islands in it, and extended it west ward to the O cean, and South ward to the *Elve*, (which was Anciently Esteemed the Bound between the

he *Scythians* and he *Germans*). That this vaſt Country was in he Ancient *Gohick* term, called *Biarmia*, and s by ſome Authors Termed, *Officina Gentium*, aving furniſhed ll thoſe ſwarms f *Goths*, *Vanals*, *Saxons*, *Anles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, nd *Normans*, hich ſo often nfeſted, and at ength ſubdued ll the Weſtern rovinces of *Eu*ope. Some Write, at he extended his Conqueſts even as r as *Franconia* it ſelf; but all agree, at this *Odin* was the firſt Inventor of, leaſt the firſt Engraver of the Ruick Letters or Characters, ſometimes Famous, and at laſt ſo Infamous in e World, by the vulgar Opinion nd imputation of all ſorts of Charms,

generis miracula variis exercuit præſtigiis. Magiſterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ inſtituit: In varias formarum ſpecie ſe tranſmutare noverat, tantâ eloqui dulcedine audientes dumulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram ſermoni gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut ſæpe corpus ſuum velut ſpiritu ſuppreſſo humi proſterneret, Evigilans ſe longinquas oras peragraſſe, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperiſſe aſſevarabat. Ad ſummum Runis ſuis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum ſibi nomen peperit ut ſapientiæ & potentiæ ſuæ & Aſianorum per omnes brevi nationes fit debitum, quò evenit ut Sueci aliiq; populi Boreales Odino Sacrificia dependerent. Poſt obitum multis apparuit, multis Victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id eſt, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

Enchantments or Witchcrafts, to the uſe and force of thoſe ſtrange Characters. That he inſtituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the diſtinction of Seaſons, the diviſions of time. was an Invinſible Warrior, a wiſe Lawgiver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three cheif Gods amongſt which he was the God of War *Thor* of Thunder and Tempeſts, *Fre* of Pleaſure; by whoſe Names, for an Eternal Memory, three days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into his Story, nor that of his Succeſſion, or the Infinite and Famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious ſearch of the time of his Expedition, which muſt have been very ancient and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that he was Inventor of the Runick Characters, ſome Writers of that Language will make him older than *Evander*, by affirming their Runick Letters to have been more ancient than the Latin, which were firſt brought into *Italy* in his time. For my own part, I ſhould gueſs, by all I have peruſed of thoſe Antiquities, that this

Expe-

Expedition may have been made two Thouſand Years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long period of times in uſe, upon Materials more laſting than any others imployed to that purpoſe; for inſtead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, theſe were engraven upon Stone or Planks of Oaks, upon artifical Obelisks or Pillars, and even upon natural Rocks, in great numbers and extent of Lines. But more of this Runick Subject will occur upon that of Poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the Conſtitutions of theſe Northern People, three Principles of a ſtrain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extend very far into the Fortunes and Conqueſts of their Arms and into the force and duration of their Kingdoms. The firſt of theſe is a Principle of Religion or Superſtition, the next of Learning, and the laſt of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes*, ſtiled of Old Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Weſtern *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but

the entrance into another Life; that all Men who lived lazy and unactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sickness or by Age, went into vast Caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noysom Creatures usual in such places, and there for ever grovelled in endless stench and Misery. On the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike Actions and Enterprises, to the Conquest of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Resolutions, they went immediatly to the vast Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open House for all such Guests, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feasts and Mirth, carousing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had slain, according to which numbers every one in these Mansions of Pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of these fierce Mortals, and what effect it had upon their Thoughts and Passions, concerning Life and Death, it is touched Elegantly in those Verses of *Lucan* before Recited, so it is lively

Repre

Repreſented in the Twenty Fifth and Twenty Ninth *Stanza* of that Song or Epicedium of *Regnor Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which he compoſed in the Runick Language, about Eight Hundred Years ago, after he was mortally ſtung by a Serpent, and before the Venom ſeiz'd upon his Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deſerved from the Common-Wealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to conſider the ſeveral ſtamps of that Coin, according to ſeveral Ages and Climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying, was never expres'd ſed in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The Two Stanzaes are thus Tranſlated into Latin by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem

Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

Stanza XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dysæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim*, (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to dye, and deserved his pardon for a Reward) there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the allowance of the different Climates, Fashions, Opinions, and Languages of such distant Countries.

I will not trouble my self with more passages out of this Runick Poems, concerning this superstitious Principle, which is so perfectly represented in these with the possession it had taken of the Noblest Souls among them; for such this *Lodbrog* appears to have been, by his

perpetual Wars and Victories in ose Northern Continents, and in *Eng-nd*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But I will d a Teſtimony of it, which was given e at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenſtern* e firſt of the Suediſh Ambaſſadors in at Aſſembly. In Diſcourſe upon this bject, and confirmation of this Opini- having been General among the *ths* of thoſe Countries; he told me, ere was ſtill in *Sueden* a place which s a Memorial of it, and was called *lins-Hall*. That it was a great Bay in e Sea, encompaſſed on three ſides with ep and ragged Rocks; and that in the ne of the Gothick Paganiſm, Men that re either ſick of Diſeaſes they eſteem- Mortal or Incurable, or elſe grown valid with Age, and thereby paſt all litary Action, and fearing to die mean- and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in ir Beds, they uſually cauſed them- ves to be brought to the neareſt part theſe Rocks, and from thence threw emſelves down into the Sea, hoping the boldneſs of ſuch a violent Death, renew the pretence of Admiſſion in- Hall of *Odin*, which they had loſt, failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

What effect ſuch a Principle (ſuck'd in with Inſtruction and Education, and well believed) muſt have upon the Paſſions and Actions of a People naturally ſtrong and brave, is eaſy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the ſtrains of the boldeſt and firmeſt Philoſophy; for this reached no farther than Conſtancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infuſed a ſcorn of Life, and a deſire of Death; nay, fear and averſion even for a natural Death, with purſuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations) ſo as they took delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or ſuch active ſports, and fought as much for the hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much pleaſure in the ſuppoſed Advantages and Conſequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or deſigns, fearleſs and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preſerve their Lives, longer than to increaſe the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter.

Their decisions of Right and Just were by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed by Laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal Judges, and determined by Death or Victory. From hence came all those Jousts, and Tiltings and Turnaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the World; their Marriage-Feasts were solemnized by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by Wounds, and sometimes by Death, till that Custom was disgraced by the deplorable End of *Henry* the Second of *France*, and the fatal Launce of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long use of legal and of single Combats, when the right of Titles or Lands was difficult; or when a Person accused of any Crime denied absolutely what his Accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could on either side be produced. 'Tis known in Story how long and how frequent this was in use among all the Gothick Races, and in the several Kingdoms or Principalities erected by them, even after the Profession of Christianity among 'em. When it grew too infamous upon the Entrance of Learning and Civility, and the Laws were ashamed of allowing Tryals of Blood and Violence, yet

yet the cuſtom could not be extinguiſh'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye, being accounted a juſt ground of Fighting in point of Honour, becauſe it had been ſo in point of Law during the Barbarous Ages. This ſeems to have begun upon the famous Challenge that paſſed between *Charles* the V. and *Francis* the I. which tho' without effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the braveſt Blood of Chriſtendom has been ſpilt by that example, eſpecially in *France*, during the ſeveral ſucceeding Reigns, till it ſeems to have been extinguiſh'd by the juſt Severity, and to the juſt Honour of the preſent King.

But to return to the bold Authors of theſe Cuſtoms (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations.) Their Bodies indeed were hard and ſtrong, their Minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Climate. But beſides theſe advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Buſineſs was War, their Pleaſures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Diſputes and Proceſſes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, decays of Age, and

nd a natural or ſlothful Death; any
iolent or Bloody they deſired and pur-
ued, and all this from their Opinion
f one being ſucceeded by Miſeries, the
ther by Felicities of a future and a
onger Life.

For my part, when I conſider the
rce of this Principle, I wonder not at
e effects of it, their numerous Con-
ueſts, nor immenſity of Countries they
bdued, nor that ſuch ſtrange Adven-
res ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch
nchanted Men. But when Chriſtianity
troduced among them, gave an end
theſe Deluſions, the reſtleſs humour
f perpetual Wars and Action was like-
iſe allayed, and they turned their
oughts to the Eſtabliſhment of their
veral Kingdoms, in the Provinces they
d ſubdued and choſen for their Seats,
d applied themſelves to the Orders
d Conſtitutions of their Civil or Poli-
al Governments.

Their Principle of Learning was,
hat all they had among them was ap-
ied to the knowledge and diſtinction
Seaſons, by the courſe of the Stars,
d to the prognoſticks of Weather, or
e to the praiſes of Virtue, which con-
ed among them only, in Juſtice to
their

their own Nation, and Valour against their Enemies; and the reſt was employed in diſplaying the brave and heroick Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Proweſs and Conqueſts of their Nation: All their Writings were compoſed in Verſe, which were called *Runes* or *Viiſes*, and from thence the term of Wiſe came: And theſe Poets or Writers being eſteemed the Sages among them, were as ſuch, always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being uſed to adviſe in their Conduct, and to record their Actions, and celebrate their Praiſes and Triumphs. The traces of theſe cuſtoms have been ſeen within the compaſs of this very age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their Feaſts it was uſual to have theſe kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyricks of their Anceſtors bold Exploits, among which, the number of Men that any of them had ſlain with their own Hands, was the chief ingredient in their Praiſes. By theſe, they rewarded the Proweſs of the Old Men among them, and inflamed the Courage of the Young, to equal the boldneſs and atchievements of thoſe that had

ad travelled before them in these aths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil overnment in these Northern Nations, eems derived from that which was Mitary among them. When a new warm was upon the Wing, they chose Leader or General for the Expedition, nd at the same time the chief Officers o Command the several Divisions of heir Troops; these were a Council of Var to the General, with whom they dvised, in the whole progress of their nterprise, but upon great occasions, as Pitch'd Battle, any Military Exploit of reat difficulty and danger, the choice f a Country to fix their Seat, or the onditions of Peace that were proposed, hey assembled their whole Troops, and onsulted with all the Soldiers or Peole they Commanded. This *Tacitus* oberves to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his time, to consult f smaller Affairs with the chief Offiers, but *De Majoribus omnes.*

If a Leader of these Colonies succeeded in his Attempts, and Conquer'd a ew Country, where by common conent they thought fit to reside, he grew Prince of that Country, while he lived,

lived, and when he dyed, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general Election. The Lands of the Subdued Territory were divided into greater and ſmaller Shares, beſides that reſerved to the Prince and Government. The great were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the ſmaller to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives Conquered, where wholly diſpoiled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and ſo uſed for labour and ſervile Offices, and thoſe of the Conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in matters of State, as they had been before in matters of War; but in the great Affair, and of common concernment, all that had the ſmaller Shares in Land, were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great Shares were in proceſs of time called Baronies, and the Small, Fees.

I know very well how much Criticiſm has been employed, by the moſt Learned, as *Eraſmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have

ave been taken, to deduce them from
he Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew
nd Ægyptian Tongues; but I find no
eaſon, after all they have ſaid, to make
ny doubt of their having been both
Original of the Gothick or Northern
anguage; or of *Baron* having been a
erm of Dignity, of Command, or of
onour among them; and *Feudum*, of
Soldier's ſhare of Land. I find the firſt
ſed above Eight Hundred Years ago, in
he Verſes mentioned of King *Lodbrog*,
hen one of his Exploits was, to have
onquered Eight Barons. And tho'
ees or *Feuda* were in uſe under later Ro-
an Emperors, yet they were derived
om the Gothick Cuſtoms, after ſo great
mbers of thoſe Nations were introdu-
d into the Roman Armies, and employ-
upon the Decline of that Empire a-
inſt other more Barbarous Invaſions.
r of all the Northern Nations, the *Goths*
ere eſteemed the moſt Civil, Orderly,
d Virtuous, and are for ſuch com-
ended by St. *Auſtin* and *Salvian*, who
akes their Conqueſts to have been
ven them by the Juſtice of God, as
Reward of their Virtue, and a Puniſh-
ent upon the Roman Provinces for
e Viciouſneſs and Corruptions of their
Lives

Lives and Governments. So as it is no Wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Cuſtoms enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not that I find, at all agreed among the Learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections raiſed againſt their ſeveral Conjectures, ſeem better grounded than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their ſeveral accounts eaſy to Collect, and confirmed by what ſtill remains in all the Conſtitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For tho' by Barons are now meant in *England*, ſuch as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the Houſe of Lords: And Baron in *Spaniſh* ſignify only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the ſeveral Countries of Chriſtendom; yet there is no queſtion, but they were originally ſuch Perſons as upon the Conqueſt of a Country, were by the Conquering Prince inveſted in the poſſeſſion of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at leaſt ſuch as they held by no other Tenure, but that of Military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a cer-

tain

ain number of Armed Men. Theſe in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, ſeem to ave had, and ſome ſtill to retain, a Sovereign Power in their Territories, by he Exerciſe of what is called high and ow Juſtice or the Power of judging riminal as well as Civil Cauſes, and inicting Capital Puniſhments among thoſe hat held under them, either as Vaſſals or Fee. But I have not met with any ing of this kind recorded in *England*, o' the great Barons had not only great mbers of Knights, but even petty arons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* as by *William* the Conqueror divided to Baronies, however the Diſtinctions ay have been long ſince worn out: t in *Ireland* they ſtill remain, and every ounty there is divided into ſo many ronies, which ſeem to have been the ares of the firſt Barons. And ſuch as eſe great Proprietors of Land, compod in all theſe North-Weſt Regions, e Part in the States of the Country Kingdom.

Now for the Word *Barons*, tho' it a Preſumption to aſſert any thing after e Doubts or unreſolved Diſputes of ch learned Men: Yet I ſhall adventure

to give my own Opinion, how differen
ſoever from any that has been yet ad
vanced. I find in *Guagnini*'s Deſcriptio
of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the Year 158
That in the ſeveral Dukedoms, Palati
nates, or Principalities, which then com
poſed the mighty Empire of *Moſcovy*
Thoſe Perſons who were the chief i
Poſſeſſions of Lands, Offices, or Digni
ties among them next to the Princ
Duke, or Palatine, were by one com
mon Apellation called his *Boiarons*, a
thoſe of the ſame ſort or quality in th
preſent Court of the Great Dukes, ar
now termed his Boiars, which may be
corrupt or particular Dialect from th
other. Now I think it is obvious to an
Man, that tries how eaſy a change
made in the Contraction of Boiarons in
to Barons, which is but of the two fir
Syllables into one, and that with an
long, as Barons is commonly uſed; An
thoſe Countries above mentioned, ha
ving been the Seats of our conqueri
Goths, I am apt to think their Boiaro
grew with their Conqueſts, to be th
Original Barons in all thoſe ſeveral Na
tions or Dominions where they wer
extended.

Fro

From the Diviſions, Forms and Inſti-
tions already deduced, will natural-
ariſe and plainly appear the Frame
nd Conſtitution of the Gothick Govern-
ent, which was peculiar to them, and
fferent from all before, known or ob-
rved in Story, but ſo univerſal among
eſe Northern Nations, that it was un-
r the Names of King, or Prince, or
uke and his Eſtates, eſtabliſh'd in all
rt of *Europe* from the North-Eaſt of
land and *Hungary* to the South-Weſt
Spain and *Portugal*, tho' theſe vaſt
untries had been ſubdued by ſo many
veral Expeditions of theſe Northern
ople, at ſuch divers times, and under
different Apellations, and it ſeems to
ve been invented or inſtituted by the
ges of the *Goths*, as a Government of
eemen, which was the Spirit or Cha-
ter of the North-Weſt Nations, diſtin-
ſhing them from thoſe of the South
d the Eaſt, and gave the Name to the
ancs among them.

need ſay nothing of this Conſtituti-
which is ſo well known in our
nd, and was antiently the ſame with
s in *France* and *Spain*, as well as
many and *Sueden*, where it ſtill con-
ues, conſiſting of a King or a Prince

who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the Occasions or Affairs of the greatest and common concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the Possession of Land, was the Original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entituled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friezland*, the Seat from whence our Gothick or Saxon Ancestors came into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the Gothick Kingdom, was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their time. Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards* or *Milaners*, so as the right of Boroughs seems not to have risen from regards of Trade, but of Land, and were Places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them

hem. However it be, this Conſtitution as been celebrated, as framed with reat Wiſdom and Equity, and as the tru-ſt and juſteſt Temper that has been ever ound out between Dominion and Liber-y; and it ſeems to be a Strain of what *He-aclitus* ſaid was the only Skill or Know-dge of any value in the Politicks, which as the Secret of Governing All by All.

This ſeems to have been intended by heſe Gothick Conſtitutions, and by the lection and Repreſentation of all that oſſeſſed Lands; for ſince a Country is ompoſed of the Land it contains, they teemed a Nation to be ſo, of ſuch as ere the Poſſeſſors of it. And what rince ſoever can hit of this great Se-et, needs know no more, for his own afety and Happineſs, or that of the eople he governs. For no State or overnment can ever be much troubled endangered by any private Factions, hich is grounded upon the general onſent and Satisfaction of the Subjects, nleſs it be wholly ſubdued by the force Armies; and then the ſtanding Ar-ies have the Place of Subjects, and the overnment depends upon the con-nted or diſcontented Humours of the oldiers in General, which has more

ſudden and fatal conſequences upon the Revolutions of State, than thoſe of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the Roman, Ægyptian, and Turkiſh Empires, appear to have always turned upon the Arbitrary Wills, and wild Humours of the Prœtorian Bands, the Mamalukes, and the Janizaries. And ſo paſs from the Scythian Conqueſts and Gothick Conſtitutions to thoſe of the *Arabians* or *Mahometans* in the World.

SECT

SECT. V.

THE laſt Survey I propoſed, of the Four outlying (or if the learned ſo pleaſe to call them barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different Nature from all the reſt, being built upon Foundations wholly Enthuſiaſtick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reaſon, and in many points contrary even to Human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conqueſts or more ſudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the Courſe of it engaged in perpetual Wars with the Chriſtian Princes, either of the Eaſt or Weſt, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progreſs of it have been eaſily obſerved, and are moſt vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers and ſeveral well digeſted Hiſtories or Relations; and therefore I

ſhall give but a very ſummary Account of both.

About the Year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Conditon, illiterate, but of great Spirit and ſubtil Wit, like thoſe of the Climat or Country where he was born or bred, which was that Part of *Arabia* called the Happy, eſteemed the loveliest and ſweeteſt Region of the World, and like thoſe bleſſed Seats ſo finely painted by the Poet,

Quas neq; concutiunt venti, neq; nubila nimbis
Aſpergunt, neq; nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat ſemperq; innubilus æther
Contigit, & latè diffuſo lumine ridet.

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Maſter's Death, having married his Widow, came to be poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a Surgian Monk, or at leaſt called by that Name, whoſe vicious and libertine Diſpoſitions of Life, had made him leave his Incloſure and Profeſſion, but otherwiſe a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was

ſubject

ſubject to Fits of an Epilepſie or Falling-Sickneſs, and either by the Cuſtoms of that Climat, or the neceſſity of that Diſeaſe, very temperate and abſtaining from Wine, but in the reſt voluptuous and diſſolute. He was aſhamed of his Diſeaſe, and to diſguiſe it from his Wife and Family, pretending his Fits were Trances into which he was caſt at certain times by God Almighty, and in them inſtructed in his Will, and his true Worſhip and Laws, by which he would be ſerved; and that he was commanded to publiſh them to the World, to teach them and ſee them obey'd.

About this Age all the Chriſtian Provinces of the Eaſt were over-run with *Arianiſm*, which however refined or diſguiſed by its Learned Profeſſors and Advocates, either denied or undermined the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and allowed only his Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, were filled with great Numbers of the Scattered *Jews*, who upon the laſt Deſtruction of their Country in *Adrian*'s Time, had fled into theſe Provinces to avoid the Ruin and even Extinction, which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after all the Deſolations he made

made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Ægypt* was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the Desires and Acquisition of Riches, in order to those Ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three Sorts of Men, and by the Assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheme of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock the common Opinions and Dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who govern'd all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent *Moses* his first and great Prophet, to give his Laws to Mankind but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the Occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often befel them. That in the later Ages he had sent Christ, who was the second

Prophet

Prophet, and greater than *Moſes*, to preach his Laws and Obſervation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleneſs, Patience and Humility, which had found no better reception or ſucceſs among Men than *Moſes* had done, That for this reaſon God had now ſent his laſt and greateſt Prophet *Mahomet*, to publiſh his Laws and Commands with more Power, to ſubdue thoſe to them by Force and Violence, who ſhould not willingly receive them, and for this end to eſtabliſh a Kingdom upon Earth that ſhould propagate this Divine Law and Worſhip throughout the World: That as God had deſigned utter Ruin and Deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them, He had given the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of His and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradiſe hereafter, with all ſenſual Enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful Women new created for that purpoſe; but with more tranſcendent Degrees of Pleaſure and Felicity to thoſe that ſhould die in the purſuit and propagation of them, through the reſt of the World, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them. Theſe, with

the

the ſevere prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predeſtination, were the firſt and chief Doctrines and Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*, and which were recieved with great Applauſe, and much confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in thoſe parts; ſome contributing to the riſe of his Kingdom, by the Belief of his Divine Miſion and Authority; many by finding their chief Principles or Religious Opinions, contained or allowed in them; but moſt by their Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, their Paſſions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge, being thereby complied with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many ſeveral parts or chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inſpired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Tranſlations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapſody of his Viſions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantaſtical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divine; which ſhews the ſtrange difference of Conceptions among Men.

To be ſhort, this Contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from *Arabia* into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increaſed

creaſed with ſuch a ſudden Growth as well as his Doctrine, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe Countries, and a great part of *Perſia*; the Decline of the Old Roman Empire, making eaſy way for the powerful Aſcent of this new Comet, that appeared with ſuch Wonder and Terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where ever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race for Succeſſion, which was in both eſteemed divine among his *Muſſulman's* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliph's* of *Perſia*, and the other of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*. Both theſe, under the common Apellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progreſs, the one to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt.

The Roman Empire, or rather the Remainders of it, ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards called the Greek, was for ſome times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many parts ſhaken to pieces, by the Invaſions or Incurſions of many barbarons Northern Nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous Oppoſition

Poſition to this new and formidable Enemy. Beſides, the diviſions among Chriſtians made way for their conqueſts, and the great Increaſe of Proſelytes to this new Relgion. The *Arians* perſecuted in the Eaſtern Provinces by ſome of the Greek Emperors (of the ſame Faith with the Weſtern or Roman Church) made eaſy turns to the *Mahometan* Doctrines, that profeſſed Chriſt to have been ſo great and ſo divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themſelves allowed him. The cruel Perſecutions of other Grecian Princes againſt thoſe Chriſtians, that would not admit the uſe of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worſhip as much as themſelves. The Jews were allured by the Profeſſion of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Chriſtan Faith, and by the great Honour that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moſes*, as a Prophet and a Lawgiver ſent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentiliſm, in that of Predeſtination, which was the Stoick Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and ſought

for

for refuge in the uncertain Conditions or events of Life, under Tyrranical and Cruel Governments. So as some Roman Authors observe, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*, made more Stoicks in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chrysippus* and *Cleanthes*.

The great extent and power of the *Persian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over run at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose race continued there till the time of *Ishmael*, from whom the present Sophies are derived. This *Ishmael* was an Enthusiast, or at least a Pretender to new revelations in the *Mahometan* Religion. He professed to reform both their Doctrines and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet*'s Followers, ought to be owned and believed his true Successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many Followers by his new and refined Principles, or professions of Devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same Way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez* about *Charles* the Fifth's time, and

Cromwell

Cromwel to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominionions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty Growth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its Height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and Renowed Heroe of this Race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Virtue, Piety, and Native Goodness, as in Power, in Valour and in Empire. Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Ægypt* and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the Western Ocean, and and over all the considerable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his time, and by his Victorious Ensigns, that the Gothick Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire, (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwads divided into several Mooriſh Kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conquest of *Spain*, invaded

this

he Southern parts of *France*, and pro-
eeded with the ſame ſucceſs as far as
Tours, till they were beaten and expel-
ed by *Charles Martel*, who by thoſe Ex-
loits raiſed his Renown ſo high, as to
ive him the Ambition of leaving the
ingdom of *France* to his own Line, in
epin and *Charlemain*, by the depoſition
nd extinction of the firſt Race, which
ad laſted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read
greater and a nobler Character of any
rince, than of this great *Almanzor*, in
me Spaniſh Authors or Tranſlators of
is Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue,
herein the Learning then remaining in
e World flouriſh'd moſt; and that of
ncient *Greece*, as it had been tranſlated
to their Language, ſo it ſeems to have
een by the Accuteneſs and Excellency
f thoſe more Southern Wits, in ſome
rts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued great un-
r the Caliphs of *Ægypt*, who degene-
ting from the Example and Vertues
Almanzor, came to be hated of their
bjects, and to ſecure themſelves from
em, by a mighty Guard of *Circaſſian*
ves. Theſe were brought young

from the Country now called *Mengrelia* between the Euxin and Caſpian Seas the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in paſt and preſent times been obſerved to produce the braveſt Bodies of Men, and moſt beautiful of Women, in all the Eaſtern Regions. Theſe Slaves were called Mamalucs when they came into *Ægypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all Exercíſes and Diſcipline, that might render them the moſt martial Troops or Band of Soldiers, that could any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of Mamalucs, was called their Sultan who was abſolute over them, as the General of an Army is in time of War. They ſerved for ſome time to ſupport the Government of the Caliphs, and enſlave the *Ægyptians*, till one of the Sultans finding his own Power, and the general diſeſteem wherein the Caliph was fallen, by the effeminate Softneſs of Luxury of his Life, depoſed him firſt then ſlew him, and took upon himſelf the Government of *Ægypt*, under the ſame of *Sultan*, and reigned by the ſole Force and Support of his Mamaluc Troops, which were continually increa-

ſe

d by the Merchandiſe, and Tranſpor-
tion of *Circaſſian* Slaves. This Go-
ernment laſted, with great Terror in
Egypt, between two and three Hun-
red Years, during which time the new
ltans were elected, upon the Death or
epoſing of the old, by the choice of
e Mamalucs, and always out of their
wn Bands. The Sons of the Deceaſed
ltans enjoyed the Eſtates and Riches
ft by their Fathers, but by the Con-
tutions of the Government no Son of
Sultan was ever either to ſucceed, or
en to be elected Sultan: So that in
is, contrary to all others ever known
the World, to be born of a Prince,
s a certain and unalterable Excluſion
m the Kingdom; and none was ever
be choſen Sultan, that had not been
ually ſold for a Slave, brought from
rcaſia and trained up a private Sol-
r in the *Mamaluc* Bands. Yet of
baſe Metal were formed ſeveral Men,
o made mighty Figures in their Age,
d no Nation made ſo brave a Re-
ance againſt the growing Empire of
Turks, as theſe Mamalucs did un-
their Sultans, till they were con-
ered by *Selim*, after a long War,
ich looked in Story like the Combat

of ſome fierce Tyger with a Savage Boar, while the Country that is waſted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned, under whoſe Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among Authors, whether the Turks were firſt called into *Aſia* by the Greek or the Perſian Emperors, but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced the Mahometan Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions, (caſt wholly for Conqueſt and Extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race ſubdued both the Greek Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it ſelf in all thoſe vaſt Dominions as it continues to this day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan Belief. So this Empire of the Turks, like a freſh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafed, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the Perſian Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this fierce

erce Government was founded and iſed to ſuch a Height, where firſt thoſe *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by eir ſenſual Paradice and Predeſtinati-n, were great Incentives of Courage nd of Enterprize, joyned to the Spoils f the Conquered, both in their Lands, eir Goods and their Liberties, which ere all ſeized at the pleaſure of the onqueror.

A Second was, a Belief infuſed of di-ine Deſignation of the Ottoman Line reign among them for Extent of their erritories, and Propagation of their aith. This made him eſteemed, at aſt by Adoption, as a Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Law-iver in Civil (and with the Aſſiſtance f his Mufti) a Supream Judge in all eligious Matters. And this Principle as ſo far improved among theſe Peo-le, that they held Obedience to be iven in all things to the Will of their ttoman Prince as to the Will of God, y whom they thought him deſigned; nd that they were bound not only to bey his Commands with any hazard of eir Lives againſt Enemies; but even y laying down their own, when ever e commanded, and with the ſame reſig-

nation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Deſtiny, or the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned ſubmiſſion to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperor's Command, tho' upon the meer turns of his own Humour, the Suggeſtions of the Miniſters, or the Flatteries and Revenges of thoſe Women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A Third was, the Diviſion of all Lands in conquered Countries, into Timariots, or Soldiers ſhares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the Emperor; and theſe ſhares being only at pleaſure or for Life, leave him the ſole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common ſuppoſition of Power following Land, muſt by conſequence leave him the moſt abſolute of any Sovereign in the World.

A Fourth, the Allowance of no Honours nor Charges, no more than Lands to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Prince. This applies every Man's Ambition and Avarice to court his preſent Humour, ſerve his preſent Deſigns, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature ſoever

ey are, and how frequently changed.
A Fifth was, the Suppreſſion, and in
mannner Extinction of all Learning
nong the Subjects of their whole Em-
re, at leaſt the Natural Turks and Ja-
zaries in whom the Strength of it
nſiſts. This Ignorance makes Way for
e moſt blind Obedience, which is of-
n ſhaken by Diſputes concerning Reli-
on and Government, Liberty and Do-
inion, and other Arguments of that
ſome ſuch Nature.
A Sixth was the Inſtitution of that
mous Order of the Janizaries than
hich a greater ſtrain of true and deep
litick, will hardly be obſerved in
y Conſtitution. This conſiſted in the
bitrary Choice of ſuch Chriſtian Chil-
en, throughout their Dominions, as
re eſteemed moſt fit for the Emperor's
culiar Service; and the Choice was
ade, by the ſhews or Promiſes of the
eateſt growth or Strength of Body, vi-
r of Conſtitution, and boldneſs of Con-
ge. Theſe were taken into the Em-
ror's Care, and trained up in certain
lledges, or Chambers, as they are called,
d by Officers for that purpoſe, who
deavoured to improve all they could
e Advantages of Nature, by thoſe of

Education and of discipline. They were all diligently instructed in the Mahometan Religion, and in the Veneration of the Ottoman Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, slothful, or Pusilanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entred into the Body of *Janisaries*, who were the Emperor's Guards.

By this Means the Number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the Empire, and weakned by the Loss of such, as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their Races. That of *Mussulmans* was increased in the same Proportions, and a mighty Body of chosen Men kept up perpetually in discipline and Pay, who estemed themselves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and domestick Servants of the Grand Seignior's Persons and Family.

A Seventh was, the great Temperance introduced into the general Customs of the Turks, but more particularly of the Janisaries, by the severe Defence and Abstinence of Wine; and by the Provision of one only sort of Food

ood for their Armies, which was ice; of this Grain, as every Man is ble to carry upon Occaſion Enough for veral days, ſo the quantity provided or every Expedition is but according to he number, with no diſtinction for the uality of Men; ſo that upon a March, r in a Camp, a Colonel has no more llowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any, but General Officers, enumbered with Train or Baggage, which ives them mighty Advantages in their erman Wars, among whom every Offier has a Family in Proportion to his ommand during the Campania, as well s in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers ſed to carry their Wives with them into he Field; whereas a Turkiſh Army onſiſts only of fighting Men.

The laſt I ſhall mention, is the Speeineſs as well as Severity of their Juſtice oth Civil and Military, which though ften ſubject thereby to Miſtakes, and eplored by the Complaints and Calaities of innocent Perſons, yet it is aintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innoent Men ſhould die, than one guilty ve.* And this indeed agrees with the hole Caſt or Frame of their Empire,

which

which ſeems to have been in all points the fierceſt, as that of the *Ynca*'s was the gentleſt, that of *China* the wiſeſt, and that of the *Goths* the braveſt in the World.

The Growth and Progreſs of this Turkiſh Empire, under the Ottoman Race, was ſo ſudden and ſo violent, the two or three firſt Centuries, that it raiſed Fear and Wonder throughout the World, but ſeems at a ſtand for theſe laſt hundred Years, having made no Conqueſt, ſince that of *Hungary*, except the Remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War ſo bravely maintained by the ſmall Venetian State, againſt ſo mighty Powers. The Reaſon of this may be drawn, not only from the Periods of Empire, that like natural Bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain Size, which they are not to exceed but from ſome other Cauſes, both within and without, which ſeems obvious enough.

The Firſt, a Neglect in the Obſervance of ſome of theſe Orders, which were eſſential to the Conſtitutions of their Government. For after the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, and the Example of *Selim*'s Intemperance, in thoſe and other Wines, that

at Custom and Humour prevailed
ainst their Laws of Abstinence, in that
oint so severely enjoyned by *Mahomet*,
d so long observed among all his Fol-
wers. And tho' the Turks and Janizaries
deavoured to avoid the Scandal and
nishment by drinking in private, yet
ey felt the Effects in their Bodies, and
their Humours, whereof the last needs
inflaming among such hot Tempers,
d their Bodies are weakned by this
emperance, joined to their abandoned
xury in point of Women.

Besides, The Institution of Janizraies
s been much alter'd, by the Corrup-
n of Officers, who have long suffer'd
Christians to buy off that Tribute
their Children, and the Turks to
rchase the preferment of theirs into
t Order for Money; by which means
choice of this Militia is not made
m the strongest and most warlike Bo-
s of Men, but from the Purses of
Parents or Friends.

These two Distempers have pro-
ced another, much greater and more
l than both, which is the mutinous
mour of this Body of Janizaries,
o finding their own Strength, began
make what Changes they pleased in
the

the State, till having been long flush'd with the Blood of the Basha's and Visiers, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves; and having deposed and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his Son, the present Emperor, then a Child. But the Distemper ended not there, they fell into new Factions, changed and murthered several Visiers, and divided into so powerful Parties, and with so fierce Contentions, that the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, set up for himself (tho' under Pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Morat*) and caused such a Convulsion of this mighty State, that the Ottoman Race had ended, if this bold Adventure had not upon confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been surprized and strangled by Order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand Visier, and absolute in the Government. This Man entering the Ministry, at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardned by Age, to allay the heat of Blood in that distemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near Forty Thousand of them in three Years time, by private, sudden, and violent Executions, without form of Laws or Trials

rials, or hearing any ſorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, ſucceeding in the lace of Grand Viſier, found the Emire ſo diſpirited, by his Father's Cruelty, and the Militia remaining ſo ſpited nd diſtemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted he Humour by an eaſy War upon the *enetians*, *Tranſilvanians*, or the remainers of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had cloſed the Wounds hich his Father had left bleeding, and eſtored the ſtrength of the Ottom n mpire to that degree, that the ſucceeding Viſier invaded *Germany*, though gainſt the Faith of Treaties, or of a ruce not expired, and at laſt beſieged *ienna*, which is a ſtory too freſh and o known to be told here.

Another reaſon has been, the neglect f their Marine Affairs, or of their forer Greatneſs at Sea; ſo as for many ears they hardly pretend to any Sucſſes on that Element, but commonly y, *That God has given the Earth to the* uſſulmans, *and the Sea to the* Chriians.

The laſt I ſhall obſerve, is the exſſive uſe of Opium, with which they ek to repair the want of Wine, and to divert

divert their Melancholly Reflections, upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seignior's, or of the Grand Visier's Humour and Commands; but the effect of this Opium is very transitory; and tho' it allays for the present all Melancholly Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is past, they return again, which makes the use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of those that frequently use it.

The external Reason of the Stand made this last Century, in the growth of the Turkish Empire, seems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to such strong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Persian Empire to the East, upon the *Tartars* to the North, upon the *Æthiopians* to the South, and upon the German Empire to the West, and turned their Prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian State.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, consisting of such large Territories, such Numbers and Bodies of Warlike Men, when

when united in any common Cauſe or Quarrel, ſeems as ſtrongly conſtituted for Defence, as the Turkiſh is for Invaſion or Conqueſt. For being compoſed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes, or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any Foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in ſuch a common Cauſe ſeem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkiſh Territories being all enſlaved, and thereby in a Manner deſolated, have no Force but that of their ſtanding Armies, and their People in general care not either for the Proreſs of their Victories abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, ſince they are ſure to loſe nothing, but may hope reaſonably to gain by any change of Maſter, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worſe conſtituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of theſe two different Conſtitutions had been ſeen and felt (in all Probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in theſe late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not

croſſed

croſſed all Human Appearances. For the Grand Viſier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vaſt Treaſures (there aſſembled for ſhelter from all the adjacent Parts) had not given him a paſſionate Deſire to take the Town by Compoſition rather than by Storm, which muſt have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had poſſeſſed this Bulwark of Chriſtendom, I do not conceive what could have hindred them from being Maſters immediately of *Auſtria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another Year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they ſhould have choſen to carry on their Invaſion, or of both, in two or three Years time; and how fatal this might have been to the reſt of Chriſtendom, or how it might have inlarged the Turkiſh Dominions, is eaſy to conjecture.

On the other ſide, after the Defeat of the Grand Viſier's Army, his Death, and that of ſo many brave Baſha's, and other Captans, by the

ual Humour and Faction of that oody Court: After ſuch Slaughters of e Janizaries, in ſo many Encounters, d ſuch an Univerſal Diſcouragement their Troops, that could no where ithſtand the German Arms and Bra- ry; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, e Emperor had been at the Head the Forces then in his Service, united der one great Commander, and with- t dependance upon the ſeveral Prin- s by whom they were raiſed; I do t ſee what could have hindred them m conquering all before them, in at open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Ro- nia*, nor from taking *Conſtantinople* ſelf, upon the courſe of an eaſy War, ſuch a Decline of the Turkiſh Empire, th ſo weak and diſpirited Troops thoſe that remained, a Treaſure ſo hauſted, a Court ſo divided, and ſuch general Conſternation as appeared that great and tumultuous City, upon eſe Occaſions.

But God Almighty had not decreed y ſo great Revolution, either for the in or Advantage of Chriſtendom, d ſeems to have left both Empires at Bay, and not likely to make any great terpriſes on either ſide, but rather

to fall into the Deſigns of a Peace which may probably leave *Hungary* to the Poſſeſſion as well as Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

Although the Mahometan Empires were not raiſed like others, upon the Foundations, or by the Force of Heroick Virtue, but rather by the Practices of a ſubtile Man, upon the Simplicity of credulous People; yet the Growth of them has been influenced by ſeveral Princes, in whom ſome Beams at leaſt of that Sun have ſhined, ſuch as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Solyman the Great*. And becauſe I have named the moſt Heroick Perſons of that Sect, it will be but Juſtice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the ſame time, thoſe who appear to have ſhined the brighteſt in their ſeveral Ages of Countries, and the Luſtre of whoſe Virtues, as well as Greatneſs, has been ſullied with the feweſt noted Blemiſhes or Defaults, and who for deſerving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the

true Records of Fame, which is ever just to the dead, how partial soever it may be to the living, from the forced Applauses of Power, or fulsom Adulations of servile Men.

Such as these were among the ancient Grecians, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Agesilaus*. Of the Old Roman State, the first *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the Roman Emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the *Goths*, *Alaric* and *Theodorick*. Of the Western Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Charles* the Fifth. Of the *French* Nation, *Faramond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry* the Fourth, who began three of their Noblest Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Gustavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard* the First; the *Black Prince*, and *Harry* the Fifth. To these I may add seven famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose Exploits and Virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Belisarius*, the two last great Comanders of the Roman Armies, after the Division and Decay of that Mighty State, who did set up the last Trophies, and made the bravest Defences against

the Numbers and Fury of thoſe Barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in peices that whole Empire. *George Caſtriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades* Vice-Roy of *Hungaria*, who were two moſt victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of *Chriſtendom*, whilſt they lived, and Terror of the Turks; who with ſmall Forces held at a Bay, for ſo many years all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble Spaniard, worthily Sirnamed the Great Captain, who by his ſole Proweſs and Conduct, conquered a Crown for his Maſter, which he might have worn for himſelf, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Virtues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who reſtored the Belgick Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, eſteemed generally the beſt and wiſeſt Commander of his Age and who at the ſudden Point of his Death, as well as in the courſe of his Life, gave ſuch Teſtimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he govern'd. *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his Wisdom Courage and Juſtice, recovered

Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner loſt to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for relief of his Confederates, into the Heart of *France*, and ſeemed to revive the ancient Roman Virtue and Diſcipline in the World, and to bring the noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick, Virtue, which lead to the Temple of True Honour and Fame, need ſeek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons here aſſembled. And ſo I leave this Crown of never fading Laurel, in full view of ſuch great and noble Spirits, as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceding Ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occaſioned in the World by the Conqueſts and Progreſſes of theſe four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, ſo much renowned in Story: It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the Cauſes of Conqueſts as well as the Effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be diſcovered, tho' like thoſe of great Rivers, they are uſually obſcure or taken little notice of, until their Streams increaſing by the Influence of many others, make ſo mighty Innundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this End I ſhall obſerve three things upon the general courſe of Conqueſts, the moſt renowned and beſt recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern Hiſtories.

Firſt,

Firſt, that they have generally proceeded from North to South, ſo as we find none beſides thoſe of the *Saracens* that can be ſaid to have ſailed the contrary courſe, and thoſe were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahometan* Perſwaſion of Predeſtination, that made them careleſs of their Lives, and thereby fearleſs of Dangers. For all the reſt, they have run the courſe before mentioned, unleſs we ſhould admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conqueſts of *Sceſoſtris*, who is reported by the Ancients to have ſubdued all, from *Ægypt* to the River *Tanais*: But this we may not allow for truth, becauſe it muſt have preceeded the Reign of *Ninus*, and ſo diſagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture; and therefore it muſt be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of ancient Story, as the *Scythians* having ſubdued and poſſeſſed *Aſia* ſo many hundred years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given ſo ancient a beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof ſome Remnants only, are ſaid to have remained in *Alexander*'s time: Yet the Fame was then believ'd, of their having anciently extended their Dominion over

all the leſſer *Aſia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana*, at *Epheſus*, which is the more probable, from that Apellation of *Taurica* that was anciently given her.

But the great Conqueſts, recorded and undiſputed in Story, have been of the *Aſſyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Perſians*, from the *Caſpian* Sea, to the utmoſt extent of the preceeding Empire and of *Ægypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Perſian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the Greek Empire as far as *Parthia* Eaſtward, and over *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africk* to the South, before the Progreſs of their Arms towards the North-Weſt. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The ſecond Obſervation I ſhall make upon the ſubject of Victory and Conqueſt is, that they have generally been made by the ſmaller Numbers over the greater, againſt which I do not remember any Exception in all the famous Battles regiſterd in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, whereof the firſt

is

is ſaid to have exceeded about a fourth part in Number, though they were ſo vaſt on both ſides, that they were not very eaſy to be well accounted. For the reſt, the number of the *Perſians*, with *Cyrus* were ſmall to thoſe of the *Aſſyrians*: Thoſe of the *Macedonians* were in no Battle againſt the *Perſians*, above forty thouſand Men, tho' ſometimes againſt three, four, or ſix hundred thouſand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thouſand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country, beat above ſixſcore thouſand *Perſians* at *Marathon*. The *Lacedemonians*, in all the Famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thouſand *Spartans* in the Feild at a time, and ſeldom above twenty thouſand Men with their Allies*. The *Romans* ever fought with ſmaller againſt greater Numbers, unleſs in the Battles of *Cannæ* and *Thraſimene*, which were the only famous ones they loſt againſt Foreign Enemies; and *Cæſar*'s Army at *Pharſalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no proportion to thoſe he conquered. That of *Marius* was not above forty thouſand againſt

* And yet they are recorded never to have aſked how many their Enemies were, but only where they were.

againſt three hundred thouſand *Cimbers*. The famous Victories of *Ætius* and *Belliſarius* againſt the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty diſproportion of Numbers, as likewiſe the firſt Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Perſian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chineſes*: And *Scanderbeg* never ſaw together abovē ſixteen thouſand Men, in all the renowned Victories he atcheived againſt the *Turks*, though in numbers ſometimes above an hundred thouſand.

To deſcend to later times, the Engliſh Victories ſo renowned at *Creſſy*, *Poitiers* and *Agencourt*, were gained with diſadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great Atchievements of *Charles* the eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the fourth in *France*, and of *Guſtavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with ſmaller againſt greater numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have ſo juſtly raiſed the Reputation and Honour of *Monſieur Turenne* for the greateſt Captain of his Time, I do not remember any of them were atchieved, without diſadvantage of Number: And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the Siege of *Vienna* which ſaved *Chriſtendom*, and has eternized the Name of the Duke of *Lorain*, was too

too freſh and great an Example of this Aſſertion, to need any more, or leave it in diſpute.

From theſe two Principles of Conqueſt having proceeded from the North to the South, and by ſmaller over greater number, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Conſtitutions of Mens Bodies who compoſe the Armies that atchieve them, or to the diſpoſitions of their Minds. The firſt of theſe may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infuſed. 'Tis without queſtion, the Northern Bodies are greater and ſtronger than the Southern, and alſo more healthy and more vigorous. The reaſon whereof, is obvious to every man's Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digeſtion, and from the roughneſs of the Soil, which forces them upon Labour and Hardſhip. Now the true Original greatneſs of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the number of ſtrong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the Natural Strength of Governments, all the reſt is Art, Diſcipline, or Inſtitution.

The

The next Ingredient into the Compoſition of conquering Forces, is Fearleſsneſs of Mind, whether it be occaſion'd by the Temper of the Clmat, or Race, of which Men are born, or by Cuſtom, which inures Men to be inſenſible of Danger, or by Paſſions or Opinions that are raiſed in them; For they may all have the ſame Effect. We ſee the very Beaſts and Birds of ſome Countries as well as the Men, are naturally fearleſs. We ſee long Service in Armies, or at Sea, makes Men inſenſible of Dangers. We ſee the Love of Liberty, deſire of Revenge, and Defence of their Country or Prince, renders them careleſs of Life. The very confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Succeſſes, from the eſteem and Opinion of their Commanders, or from the Scorn of their Enemies, makes Armies victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Puniſhment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the Quarrel they are ingaged in. And theſe are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms; for let the numbers be what they will, That Army is ever beaten, where

where the Fright firſt enters. Few Battles were loſt of old, but none ſince the uſe of Gunpowder, by the Greatneſs of down right Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the Noiſe and ſmoak of Guns both increaſes Fear, and covers Shame, more than the ancient uſe of Arms, ſo that ſince thoſe of Fire came in, Battles have been uſually ſhorter and leſs bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by Soldiers or reaſonable Men) that the Battle is loſt where the Fright firſt enters, then the reaſon will appear, why Victory has generally followed the ſmaller numbers, becauſe in a Body compoſed of more parts, it may ſooner enter upon one, than in that which conſiſts of fewer, as 'tis likelier to find ten wiſe Men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearleſs Men than a thouſand; And thoſe who have the ſmaller Forces, endeavour moſt to ſupply that Defect by the choice Diſcipline, and Bravery of their Troops: And where the Fright once enters an Army, the greater the number, the greater the diſorder, and thereby the loſs of the Battle more certain and ſudden.

From

From all this I conclude, that the Compoſition of Victorious Armies, and the great true Ground of Conqueſt, conſiſts firſt in the choice of the ſtrongeſt, ableſt, and hardieſt Bodies of Men: Next, in the exactneſs of Diſcipline, by which they are innured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And laſtly, in the Spirit given them by Love of their Country or their Prince, by Impreſſions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearleſs of Death, and ſo incapable, or at leaſt very difficult, to receive any Fright, or break thereby into Diſorder; And I queſtion not, but any brave Prince or General at the Head of forty thouſand Men, who would certainly ſtand their Ground, and ſooner dye than leave it, might fight any Number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Feild: For beſides that a greater number may fall ſooner into Fright and diſorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one Days Battle, whereas very few in late Ages have laſted half that time.

The laſt Remark I ſhall make upon this Subject is, that the conquering Nations have generally been thoſe, who

who placed the Strength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horſe, which have never, till theſe later Years been eſteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force ſeem to conſiſt in other Advantage, beſides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their firſt Charge: Nor is this Opinion leſs grounded upon Reaſon than Experience. For beſides, that Men are firmer upon their own feet than thoſe of their Horſes, and leſs in danger of falling into diſorder, which may come from want of Diſcipline or Courage in the Horſes as well as their Riders: It is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the Sides of Horſes, ſhould have more Effect or Force, to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes Swords, or Javelins in their Noſes and Breaſts to make them keep off, fall back or break their Ranks, and run into diſorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages or more undiſputed. The Battle of *Marathon* was gained by ten thouſand foot, againſt mighty numbers of *Perſian* horſe as well as foot. The famous retreat of *Xenophon*, for ſuch a Length of Country and of time, was made at the head of ten thouſand

thouſand *Greeks* in the Face of forty thouſand *Perſian* Horſe; nor had the Greeks above a hundred or ſixſcore Horſe in their Camp, which they made uſe of only to forage or purſue the *Perſian* Horſe when they fled in diſorder from the points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Perſian* Horſe, that ever encountred them. The *Roman* Legions conſiſted each of ſix thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vaſt numbers of *Spaniſh*, *Numidian*, or *Perſian* and *Armenian* Horſe, they were ſo often engaged with. The force of the *Gothick* Nations conſiſted in their Foot, and of the *Turkiſh* and *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The Noble Conqueſts of the *Engliſh* in *France*, were made all by their Foot; and during that Period of time, when the Crown of *Spain* made ſo great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the force and bravery of their *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot.

There ſeem to be but two Exceptions againſt this Rule, which are the ancient

Greatneſs

Greatneſs of the *Perſians*, and modern of the *French*, whoſe chief Force have been eſteemed to conſiſt in their Horſe. But the *Perſian* Empire was raiſed by the Conqueſt of the Eaſtern Nations, whoſe Armies conſiſted chiefly in Horſe, and one againſt the other, the beſt carried *it*, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies, though the Bravery of their Cavilry has been great and noble, as made up of ſo numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom, yet one chief Strength of their Troops muſt be allowed for the ſeveral late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Swetzers*; and in this preſent Reign, *Mareſchal Turenne* muſt be acknowledged to have made way for his Maſter's Greatneſs, by improving the Bodies of *French* Foot with Force of Choice and Diſcipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his Time.

I ſhall end this Remark with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan*: One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make ſtill a firm Stand againſt all his victorious Troops; He endea-

voured to break them by a desperate Charge, of some Squadrons of his *Gens d' Arms*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breasts of their Horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the *Switzers* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; They did it so desperately, some catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in Pieces with their broad Swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horse that could Charge them: And this seems an evident Testimony, that the Impressions of Horse upon Foot, are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that first enters, the Action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of Conquerors or Conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second Rank in the Pretensions to Heroick Virtue, and that the first has been allowed, to the wise Institution of just Orders and Laws, which

which frame ſafe and happy Governments in the World. The Deſigns and Effects of Conqueſts, are but the Slaughter and Ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World. Thoſe of wiſe and juſt Governments, are preſerving and encreaſing the Lives and Generations of Men ſecuring their Poſſeſſions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches, improving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes of the World.

So the Inſtitutions of *Moſes* leave him a Diviner Character than the Victories of *Joſhua*. Thoſe of *Belus*, *Oſyris* and *Janus*, than the Proweſs of *Ninus*, *Cyrus* and *Seſoſtris*. And if among the Ancients, ſome Men have been eſtemed Heroes, by the brave Atcheivements of great Conqueſts and Victories; It has been, by the wiſe Inſtitution of Laws and Governments, that others have been honoured and adored as Gods.

ESSAY IV.

Of Poetry,

THE Two common Shrines, to which moſt Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleaſure, and by their Devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into Two Sects, and called either buſy or idle Men. Whether theſe Terms differ in meaning, or only in ſound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with appearance enough, ſince the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleaſure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not purſue his Buſineſs unleſs he were pleaſed with it, upon the laſt Account of what he moſt Wiſhes and Deſires, nor would care for the Encreaſe of his Fortunes, unleſs he

propoſed thereby, that of his Pleaſures too, in one Kind or other, ſo that Pleaſure may be ſaid to be his End, whether he will allow to find it in his purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more Reſpect to the ancient Philoſophers) many Diſputes have been raiſed upon this Argument, I think to little purpoſe, and that all has been rather an Exerciſe of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take Words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like Coin as it moſt currantly paſſes, without raiſing Scruples upon the weight of the allay, unleſs the Cheat or the Defect, be groſs and evident. Few Things in the World or none, will bear too much refining, a Thread too fine ſpun will eaſily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely filed. The uſual Acceptation takes Profit and Pleaſure, for two different Things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them, by ſeveral Names of Buſy and of Idle Men, but diſtinguiſhes the Faculties of the Mind, that

are

are Converſant about them, calling the Operations of the firſt, Wiſdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word, that is uſed to expreſs, what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Eſprit*, both from the *Latin*; but I think Wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the firſt of theſe are Attributed, the Inventions or Productions of Things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to Human Life, either in Private Poſſeſſions or publick Inſtitutions: To the other, thoſe Writings or Diſcourſes, which are the moſt Pleaſing or Entertaining, to all that read or hear them; Yet, according to the Opinion of thoſe that link them together, As the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers themſelves, do pleaſe as well as Profit thoſe who approve and follow them; So thoſe of Poets, Inſtruct and Profit as well as Pleaſe ſuch as are Converſant in them, and the happy Mixture of both theſe, makes the Excellency in both thoſe Compoſitions, and has given Occaſion for Eſteeming, or

at leaſt for calling Heroick Virtue and Poetry, Divine.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, expreſs the ſame Opinion of them in thoſe Nations; The *Greek* ſignifiying Makers or Creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which ſtrike with wonder, and with Pleaſure the Eyes and Imaginations of thoſe who behold them; the *Latin* makes the ſame Word, common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation is the firſt Attribute and higheſt Operation of Divine Power, ſo is Prophecy the greateſt Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in thoſe Two Learned Languages, ſo the Cauſes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them, to be Divine, and to proceed from a Cœleſtial Fire, or Divine Inſpiration, and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many Paſſages of thoſe Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewiſe thought Divine and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel Cælo poſſunt deducere Lunam,

Carmi-

Carminibus Circe Socios mutavit Ulyſſis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis.

But I can eaſily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt Excellency of natural Temper, or the greateſt Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the Reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing, that is in the Compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate Influence from it ſelf. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its Effects, than in its Cauſes, nor any Operation produced by it, to be more than purely natural, or to deſerve any other Sort of Wonder than thoſe of Muſick, or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to Minds little Verſed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the Force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven, by Force of Verſes or of Charms, either be

believes not himſelf, or too eaſily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion, begun by the Practice of ſome Poet, upon the Facility of ſome People, who knowing the time when an Eclipſe would happen, told them, he would by his Charms call down the Moon at ſuch an Hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming Deſcription in *Virgil*'s Eighth Ecclogue of all Sorts of Charms and Faſcinations by Verſes, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs, imployed upon Occaſion of a violent Paſſion, from a jealous or diſappointed Love; I have Recourſe to the ſtrong Impreſſions of Fables and of Poetry, to the eaſy Miſtakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of ſeveral Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am ſorry the Natural Hiſtory, or Account of Faſcination, has not employed the Pen of ſome Perſon, of ſuch excellent Wit, and deep Thought and Learning, as *Cauſaubon*, who writ that curious and uſeful Treatiſe of *Enthuſiaſm*, and by

by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age, in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Word, in the Second Part he promised; or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in General, as well as from the Common-Wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent so many Publick Disorders, and save the Lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding People, who suffer so frequently upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this Kind, in my Youth at Home; And though the Humour or Fashion, be a good deal worn out of the World, within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote Parts of *Germany*, *Sweden* and some other Countries.

But

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forſaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verſes, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour; If ſhe had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breaſt, ſhe might, for ought I know, have compaſſed ſuch Ends, by the Power of ſuch Charms, and without other than very natural Enchantments. For there is no Queſtion, but true Poetry may have the Force, to raiſe Paſſions, and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raiſe Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldneſs, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it ſelf; and I eaſily believe, That the diſheartened *Spartans*, were new animated, and recovered their loſt Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phaloris*, were changed by the Odes of *Steſichorus*, into the greateſt Kindneſs and Eſteem, and that many Men were as paſſionately ena-

enamoured, by the Charms of *Sappho*'s Wit and Poetry, as by thoſe of Beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raiſes it; and if the Poſſeſſion be ſtrong enough, let it come from what it will there is always Beauty enough in the Perſon that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder, that ſuch Force ſhould be found in Poetry, ſince in it are aſſembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Muſick and of Picture, which are all allowed to make ſo ſtrong Impreſſions upon Humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all, or any of theſe, needs little Proof or Teſtimony. The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where ſome have fallen down-right in Love, with the Raviſhing Beauties of a Lovely Object drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter, nay, Painters themſelves, have fallen in Love with ſome of their own Productions, and doated on them, as on a Miſtreſs or a Fond Child, which diſtinguiſhes among the *Italians*, the ſeveral Pieces that are done by the ſame Hand, into ſeveral Degrees of thoſe made, *Con Studio*,

Studio, *Con Diligenza*, or *Con Amore*; whereof the laſt are ever the moſt excelling. But there needs no more Inſtances of this Kind than the Stories related, and believed by the beſt Authors, as known and undiſputed; Of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his Life, to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and ſatisfie his Paſſion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there ſet up, and deſigned for another Sort of Adoration; the other pined away and dyed for being hindred his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Muſick are either felt and known by all Men, and are allowed to work ſtrangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Paſſions and the Blood, to raiſe Joy and Grief, to give Pleaſure and Pain, to dure Diſeaſes, and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compoſe diſturbed Thoughts, to aſſiſt and heighten Devotion it Self. We need no Recourſe to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Muſick upon Fiſhes and Beaſts; 'tis enough that we find

find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Poſſeſſion, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that ſo often raiſed and appeaſed the Violence of Popular Commotions, and cauſed ſuch Convulſions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more, to make him acknowledge it, than to conſider *Cæſar*, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal, full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Reſolution to condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn pale, ſhake to that Degree, that the Papers he held, fell out of his Hand as if he had been frighted with Words, that never was ſo with Blows, and at laſt change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, inſtead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of theſe three mighty Powers, be united in Poetry, we need not Wonder, that ſuch Virtues, and ſuch Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inſpired, or has been called Divine,

vine, and yet I think it will not be diſputed, that the Force of Wit, and of reaſoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expreſſions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Repreſentation or Picture as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Muſick; and how far theſe three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect, (even ſuch as may be miſtaken for ſupernatural or Magical) I leave it to ſuch Men to conſider, whoſe Thoughts turn to ſuch Speculations as theſe, or who by their Native Temper and Genius, are in ſome Degree diſpoſed, or receive the Impreſſions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey* when he was reading *Virgil*, ſhould ſometimes throw him down upon the Table, and ſay he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Meric Caſaubon*, ſhould find ſuch Charming Pleaſures and Emotions, as he deſcribes, upon the reading ſome Parts of *Lucretius*; that ſo many ſhould cry, and with down right Tears, at ſome Trajadies of *Shake Spear*, and ſo many more ſhould feel ſuch Turns or Curdling of their Blood,

Blood, upon the reading or hearing ſome excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor that *Octtavia* fell into a Swound, at the Recital made by *Virgil* of thoſe Verſes in the Sixth of his *Æneides*.

This is enough to aſſert the Powers of Poetry, and diſcover the Ground of thoſe Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inſpirations, and gave it ſo great a Share in the ſuppoſed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances ſeem to leſſen the Honour of true Proweſs and Valour in their Knights, by giving ſuch a part in all their chief Adventures to Enchantment, ſo the true Excellency and Juſt Eſteem of Poetry, ſeems rather debaſed than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations, grew ſo ſtrong and ſo general, that about five or ſix hundred Years ago, all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decried, and thoſe ancient Characters, in which they were written, to be aboliſhed by the Zeal of Biſhops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loſs to the Story of thoſe *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat of

our Anceſtors in all the *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what God this Inſpiration was aſcribed by the Ancients, which was *Apollo*, or the Sun, eſteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Muſick and of Poetry. The Myſtery of this Fable, means, I ſuppoſe, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but eſpecially of the Brain, is the true Spring of theſe Two parts or Sciences: This was that Cæleſtial Fire, which gave ſuch a pleaſing Motion and Agitation to the Minds of thoſe Men, that have been ſo much admired in the World, that raiſes ſuch infinite Images of Things ſo agreeable and delightful to Mankind; By the Influence of this Sun, are produced thoſe Golden and Inexhauſted Mines of Invention, which has furniſhed the World with Treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed, in all the Regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or Study, by pains

or by Induſtry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of ſome hidden Spark of the very firſt Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child, is like all others born naked, and muſt be Nouriſhed with Care, cloathed with Exactneſs and Elegance, Educated with Induſtry, Inſtructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accompliſhed with Labour and with Time, before it arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain that no Compoſition requires ſo many ſeveral Ingredients, or of more different Sorts than this, nor that to excel in any Qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many Gifts of Nature, and ſo many Improvements of Learning and of Art. For there muſt be an univerſal Genius, of great Compaſs as well as great Elevation. There muſt be a ſpritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thouſand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of

that true Poetical Fire, discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered, without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the Heat of Invention and Livelinesse of Wit, there must be the Coldnesse of good Sense and Soundnesse of Judgment, to distinguish between Things and Conceptions, which at first Sight, or upon short Glances, seem alike; to chuse among Infinite Productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing; without the Succours of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poesy is, That such Contraries must meet to compose it; a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem, must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to invent, a great Calm to Judg-

and correct; there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be imploy'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel and the File. There must be a General Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgement, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet, that applied himself much to any Thing else.

When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a Just Poem; And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few that appeared, in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them, and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain

to queſtion the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the firſt Rank, but to the ſupream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be deriv-ed. *Homer* was without Diſpute, the moſt Univerſal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the moſt accompliſh'd. To the firſt muſt be allowed, the moſt fertile Invention, the richeſt Vein, the moſt general Knowledge, and the moſt lively Ex-preſſion: To the laſt, The nobleſt Idea's, the juſteſt Inſtitution, the wiſeſt Conduct, and the choiceſt Elocution. To ſpeak in the Painter's Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the moſt Spirit, Force, and Life; in thoſe of *Virgil*, the beſt Deſign, the trueſt Pro-portions, and the greateſt Grace; The Colouring in both ſeems equal, and indeed, is in both admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Swiftneſs; or at leaſt the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the firſt more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Ore was either in one, but in the other more re-

fined,

fined, and better allay'd to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think it must be confessed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful *Genius*; and that he has been generally so esteemed, there cannot be a greater Testimony given, than what has been by some observed, that not only the greatest Masters have found in his Works the best and truest Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the Noblest Nations have derived from them the Original, or their several Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be true, or Fiction. In short, these two immortal Poets, must be allowed to have so much excelled in their Kinds, as to have exceeded all Comparison, to have even extinguished Emulation, and in a Manner confined true Poetry, not only to their two Languages, but to their very Persons. And I am apt to believe so much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in General, and of its Elevation in these two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compass of a Thousand Years; for one

Man that is born capable of making ſuch a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thouſand born capable of making as Great Generals of Armies, or Miniſters of State, as any the moſt Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour; nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Preſumption: Beſides, there has been ſo much Paper blotted upon theſe Subjects, in this Curious and Cenſuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very ſevere in their Cenſures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little purpoſe; for I know not, why they might not have contented themſelves with thoſe given by *Ariſtotle* and *Horace*, and have Tranſlated them rather than Commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; ſo as they ſeem, by their Writings of this Kind, rather to have valued themſelves, than improved any Body elſe. The Truth is, there is ſomething in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to ſo many Rules; and whoever goes about to ſub-

ject

ject it to ſuch Conſtraints, loſes both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt, even of the beſt Maſters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent Honey, you ſhould cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yeild the fineſt Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They muſt range through Feilds, as well as Gardens, chuſe ſuch Flowers as they pleaſe, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and diſtinguiſh: They muſt work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and ſever it from the Wax, with ſuch Diſtinction and Choice, as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification to theſe great Arbitrary Rulers among the *French* Writers, or our own, to obſerve the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleaſure they have given Mankind, But to comfort them,

I do

I do not know, there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art laid down by *Ariſtotle*; nor in *Rome*, after thoſe by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan*, may be alledg'd againſt this Aſſertion; but the firſt offered no further, than at Idils or Ecclogues; and the laſt, though he muſt be avowed for a true and happy *Genius*, and to have made ſome very high Flights, yet he is ſo unequal to himſelf, and his Muſe is ſo young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Fæliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Luſit amabiliter*. After all, the utmoſt that can be atcheived, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder ſome Men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any Man a very good one. To judge who is ſo, we need go no further for Inſtruction, than three Lines of *Horace*.

——*Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falſis Terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, *& modo me* Thebis, *modo ponit*
(Athenis.

He

He is a Poet,

Who vainly anguiſhes my Breaſt,
Provokes, allays, and with falſe Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now ſets me down
In Thebes, *and now in* Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the ſame preſent Paſſions in you, that he repreſents in others, and at other Times, raiſe Images about you, as a Conjurer is ſaid to do Spirits, Tranſport you to the Places and to the Perſons he deſcribes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Meaſures are never ſo juſt, his Feet never ſo ſmooth, or his Sounds never ſo ſweet.

But inſtead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I ſhall rather turn my Thoughts to the Hiſtory of it, and obſerve the Antiquity, the Uſes, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is I think generally agreed, to have been the firſt Sort of Writing that has been uſed in the World; and in ſeveral Nations to have preceeded the very Invention or Uſage of Letters. This laſt is certain in *America*, where the firſt *Spaniards* met with many

many Strains of Poetry, and left ſeveral of them tranſlated into their Language, which ſeem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in thoſe Regions. The ſame is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Græcians* and the *Germans*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, the *Agathyrſi* had their Laws all in Verſe; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were ſo; and for the *Græcian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather Reaſon to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phœnicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a Thing known, that *Pherecides* was the firſt who writ Proſe in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the Time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Heſiod* lived ſome hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orphæus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, ſome Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in Times as well as Places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ, is ſaid to have been in Verſe, who were ſomething older than *Cyrus*; and before them,

them, were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Steſichorus*, and ſeveral other Poets famous in their Times. The ſame Thing is reported of *Chaldæa*, *Syria*, and *China*; Among the Ancient *Weſtern Goths* (our Anceſtors) the *Runick* Poetry ſeems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wiſdom, as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verſe.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ, the moſt ancient is by ſome learned Men eſteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was Written before the Time of *Moſes*, and that it was a Tranſlation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldæan* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his Abode, which appears to have been Seated between the *Chaldæans* of one Side, and the *Sabeans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other; and by many Paſſages, of that admirable and truly inſpired Poem, the Author ſeems to have lived in ſome Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates*, or the

Perſian

Perſian Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to thoſe Regions. Nor is it eaſy to find any Traces of the *Moſaical* Rites or Inſtitutions, either in the Divine Worſhip, or the Morals related to, in thoſe Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praiſes, were much more ancient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moſes*; But the Opinion of one Deity, and Adored without any Idol or Repreſentation, was profeſſed and received among the ancient *Perſians* and *Hetruſcans* and *Chaldæans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham*, who is ſuppoſed to have left that Country for the Profeſſion or Worſhip of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Iſaac* and *Iſrael*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controverſy, that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verſe, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Juſtice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, againſt the common Arguments of Atheiſtical Men, who took Occaſion to diſpute it, from

from the uſual Events of Human things, by which ſo many ill and impious Men ſeem Happy and proſperous in the Courſe of their Lives, and ſo many Pious and Juſt Men, ſeem Miſerable or Afflicted. The *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) Word for Word; and for which, all Tranſlators of the Bible ſince, have had great Regard, gives us the two firſt Chapters, and the laſt from the ſeventh Verſe in Proſe, as an Hiſtorical Introduction and Concluſion of the Work, and all the reſt in Verſe, except the Tranſitions from one part or Perſon of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Book of *Moſes* to be the moſt ancient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moſes* may probably have been Written before the reſt; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praiſes ſung to God, upon the Victories or Succeſſes of the *Iſraelites*, related in both. And I never read the laſt, without obſerving in it, as true and noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatſoever, in Spight of all Diſadvantages from Tranſlations into ſo different

Tongues

Tongues and common Proſe. If an Opinion of ſome Learned Men both Modern and Ancient could be allowed, that *Eſdras* was the Writer or Compiler of the firſt Hiſtorical part of the Old Teſtament, though from the ſame Divine Inſpiration, as that of *Moſes* and the other Prophets, then the Pſalms of *David* would be the firſt Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Eccleſiaſtes* when he was old: So that from all Sides, both ſacred and prophane, It appears that *Poetry* was the firſt Sort of Writing known and uſed in the ſeveral Nations of the World.

It may ſeem ſtrange, I confeſs, upon the firſt Thought, that a Sort of Stile ſo regnlar and ſo difficult, ſhould have grown in Uſe, before the other ſo eaſy and ſo looſe: But if we conſider, what the firſt End of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reaſon as well as Experience; For the true and general End was but the Help of Memory, in preſerving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwiſe have been loſt, and ſoon vaniſh away, with the Tranſitory Paſſage of Humane Breath and

and Life. Before the Diſcourſes and Diſputes of Philoſophers began to buſy, or amuſe the *Græcian* Wits, there was nothing written in Proſe, but either Laws, ſome ſhort Sayings of Wiſe Men, or ſome Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Ancients, many Strains of Natural and Moral Wiſdom and Knowlehge; and beſides theſe, ſome ſhort Memorials of Perſons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier, all ſuch Writings ſhould be learnt and remembred, in Verſe than in Proſe, not only by the Pleaſure of Meaſures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impreſſion to Memory, but by the Order of Feet which makes a great Facility of tracing one Word after another, by knowing what Sort of Foot or Quantity, muſt neceſſarily have preceeded or followed the Words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made Poetry ſo neceſſary, before Letters were invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews, that the great Honour and general Requeſt, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the Pleaſure and Delight, but likewiſe from the Uſeful-

neſs and Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally, Praiſe, Inſtruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praiſe was the Subject of all the Songs and Pſalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer* and many others; Of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, Compoſed all and Deſigned for the Honour of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Steſichorus*, and *Tyrtæus*, in the Praiſes of Virtue or Virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job*, is Inſtruction concerning the Attributes of God, and the Works of Nature. Thoſe of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and ſeveral other of the ſmaller *Greek* Poets, with what paſſes for *Pythagoras*, are Inſtructions in Morality; The firſt Book of *Heſiod* and *Virgil*'s *Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepeſt natural Philoſophy. Story is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; And *Fable*, which is a Sort of Story, in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Converſant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praiſe too; and the Vein of Paſtorals and Ecclogues has run the

ſame

ſame Courſe, as may be obſerved in *Theocritus*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who was, I think, the firſt and laſt of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins*: Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poeſy has been compoſed of all theſe, but the chief End ſeems to have been Inſtruction, and under the Diſguiſe of Fables, or the Pleaſure of Story; to ſhew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes, or Puniſhment of Vice; By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other; To Reform ill Cuſtom, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Paſſions. Theſe are the general Subjects of both parts; tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary Paſſions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread ſo beaten Paths, that to Travel in them, only raiſes Duſt, and is neither of Pleaſure nor of Uſe.

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I ſhall obſerve one Ancient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the

Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The firſt Change of Poetry was made, by Tranſlating it into Proſe, or Cloathing it in thoſe looſe Robes, or common Veils that diſguiſed or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactneſs of its Shape. This was done firſt by *Æſop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more ancient in the *Eaſtern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may obſerve, in the many Parables uſed in the Old Teſtament, as well as in the new. And there is a Book of Fables, of the Sort of *Æſop*'s, Tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and pretended to have been ſo, into that Language out of the ancient *Indian*; But though it ſeems Genuine of the *Eaſtern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be ſo old, nor to have ſo much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succeſſion of Poetry in Proſe, ſeems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a Sort of little Paſtoral Romances; and though much in requeſt in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unleſs it be the *Longi Paſtoralia*, which gives a Taſt of the great Delicacy and Pleaſure, that was found ſo generally in thoſe

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ſort of Tales. The laſt Kind of Poetry in Proſe, is that which in latter Ages has over run the World, under the Name of Romances, which tho' it ſeems Modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is ancient. The Remainders of *Petronius Arbiter*, ſeem to be of this Kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True Hiſtory: But the moſt ancient that paſſes by the Name, is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chuſing to loſe his Biſhoprick, rather than diſown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of ancient Poetry in this Kind, ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I eſteem both the greateſt Poet and the nobleſt Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern Language; a Perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt *Ideas*, but of leaving the Nobleſt Examples, if the Length of his Life had been equal to the Excellence of his Wit and Virtues.

With him I leave the Diſcourſe of ancient Poetry, and to diſcover the Decays of this Empire, muſt turn to that of the Modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction

of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change, arrived by no ſmaller Occaſions, nor more ignoble Revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the ancient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected ſo many new ones upon their Ruines, by the Invaſions and Conqueſts, or the General Inundations of the *Goths* or *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon thoſe Parts of *Europe* that had been ſubject to the *Romans*. After the Conqueſts made by *Cæſar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the Times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, by their Lieutenants or Generals; great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* reſorted to the *Roman* Armies, and to the City it ſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before, upon the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. This Mixture, ſoon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, ſo that in *Lucan* but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harſh Allay entered into the Stile of the *Auguſtan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had ſubdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations, on both ſides of the *Danube*,

Danube, the Commerce of thoſe barbarous people grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verſes aſcribed to *Adrian*, were in Imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythicas Pati Pruinas* of *Florus*, ſhews their Race or Climate, and the firſt Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Alluſions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian*, at his Death.

O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis Joca.

'Tis probable, the old Spirit of Poetry, being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody Wars, with ſuch barbarous Enemies, this new Ghoſt began to appear in its Room, even about that Age, or elſe that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into thoſe Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry

ſmell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old Vein quite ſeared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every Day more and more obſcured, by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the *North* and increaſing with the Numbers and Succeſſes of thoſe Barbarous People, at length over-ſhadowed all *Europe*, for ſo long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it ſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its Corruption made Way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the conquering Nations, for ſeveral Ages uſed their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of *Germany* where, ſome of the *Goths* had ſojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conqueſt of the more *Southern* or *Weſtern* Parts. Where-ever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained, and their Language, had been generally ſpoken, the common people uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe Allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain's* Time was called in *France*, *Ruſtica Romana*; and in *Spain* during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the

Roman

Roman Soldiers, and great Numbers of the *Brittains* moſt accuſtomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained for the Defence of *Gaul* againſt the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the Time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguiſh'd, (as well as their own) made Way for the intire Uſe of the *Saxon* Language. With theſe Changes, the ancient Poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe Countries, and a new Sort grew up by Degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhimes, with an eaſy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes* and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes, was properly the Name of the Ancient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were invented firſt or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths* which he planted in the *North-Weſt* Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But becauſe all the Writings, they had among them for many Ages, were in Verſe, it came to be the common Name of all Sorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Compoſers of them, were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewiſe another Name for them,

or

or for ſome Sorts of them, which was *Vüſes* or *Wiſes*, and becauſe the Sages of that Nation, expreſſed the beſt of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in theſe Kind of Writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt Applauſe were termed wiſe Men, the good Senſe or Learning, or uſeful Knowledge contained in them, was called Wiſdom, and the pleaſant or facetious Vein among them, was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard, or read them.

Of theſe *Runes*, there was in Uſe among the *Goths* above a hundred ſeveral Sorts, ſome compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter Lines, ſome equal, and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing, make many different ſorts of original or natural tunes. Some were framed with Alluſions of words or conſonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the ſame Line, or in the Dyſtick, or by alternate Suceſſion and Reſemblance, which made a ſort of Gingle, that pleaſed the ruder Ears of that people. And becauſe

becauſe their Language was compoſed moſt of Monoſyllables and of ſo great Numbers, many muſt end in the ſame ſound; another Sort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the ſame Sound, which being the eaſieſt, requiring leſs Art, and needing leſs Spirit (becauſe a certain Chime in the Sounds ſupplied that Want, and pleaſed common Ears; this in time grew the moſt general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or Runes, paſs for the modern Poetry, in theſe parts of the World.

This was not uſed only in their modern Languages, but during thoſe ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained, and was preſerved among the *Monks* and *Prieſts*, to diſtinguiſh them, by ſome Shew of Learning, from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree ſoever, and Reverence the Profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither write nor read, even in their own Language; I mean not only the vulgar Lay-men, but even the generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this laſted, till the ancient Learning and Languages began

began to be reſtored in *Europe*, about Two Hundred Years ago.

The common Vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is termed *Dithirambick*, and was of a raving or rambling Sort of Wit or Invention, looſe and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Meaſures or Rules; yet ſome of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in ſome Degree, or that natural Inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome Spark of Poetical Fire, wherewith particular Men are born. And ſuch as it was it ſerved the Turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to charm the Ignorant and Barbarous Vulgar, where it was in Uſe. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths*, as much in Requeſt and admired, as any of the ancient and moſt celebrated Poets were among the Learned Nations; for among the blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were as well as the others thought inſpired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions, were generally eſteemed Divine or Magical at leaſt.

The Subjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true ancient Poetry.

try. Yet this Vein was chiefly imployed, upon the Records of Bold and Martial Actions, and the Praiſes of Valiant Men that had Fought ſuccesfully or Dyed bravely, and theſe Songs or Ballads were uſually ſung at Feaſts, or in Circles of Young or idle Perſons, and ſerved to inflame the Humour of War, of Slaughter, and of Spoils among them. More refined Honour or Love, had little part in the Writings, becauſe it had little in the Lives or Actions of thoſe fierce People and bloody Times. Honour among them conſiſted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Luſt.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but Wild-fire that ſparkledor rather crackled a while, and ſoon went out with little Pleaſure or Gazing of the Beholders; Thoſe *Runers* who could not raiſe Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments; This came in to ſupply the Defect of that ſublime and marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Proſe among the Learned Ancients. The *Gothick Runers*, to Gain and Eſtabliſh the Credit and Admiration of their Rhymes, turned the uſe

of

of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them to raiſe Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cauſe Terror in their Enemies, to tranſport themſelves in the Air, to conjure Spirits, to Cure Diſeaſes, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or eaſy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt ancient *Runers*, affirms of himſelf and his own Atchievements, by Force of theſe Magical Arms, The Men or Women, who were thought to perform ſuch Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Vüſes* or *Wiſes*, the name of thoſe Verſes wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards*, or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry, ſeem to have been raiſed, all thoſe Trophies of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spaniſh* Romances which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them, during their Reign; and after the Conqueſts of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame perhaps may be derived, all the viſionary Tribe of *Faries*, *Elves*, and *Goblines* of *Sprites* and of *Bul-beggars*, that ſerve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurſes pleaſe, but ſome-

ſometimes, by laſting Impreſſions, to diſquiet the Sleeps, and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Diſcretion, and that God knows is a Period of Time, which ſome people arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt, this Belief prevailed ſo far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all Sorts of Charms were not only attributed to their *Runes* or *Verſes*, but to their very Characters; ſo that about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and aboliſhed in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Commands or Conſtitutions, and what has been ſince recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetcht as far as *Yſland* it ſelf.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity remained, even to our own Age, may be obſerved by any Man that reflects ſo far as thirty or forty Years; how often avouched, and how generally credited were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*; In ſome Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were *Longaroos*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember ſeveral *Iriſh* of the ſame Mind. The

Remain-

Remainders are woven into our very Language; *Mara* in old *Runick* was a *Goblin* that ſeized upon Men aſleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to ſtrangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whoſe Name was uſed by his Soldiers when they would fright or ſurpriſe their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhiming *Rats to Death*, came I ſuppoſe from the ſame Root.

There were not longer ſince than the time I have mentioned, ſome remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Iriſh*. The Great Men of their Scepts, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the ſame Races, had not only a *Phyſitian*, a *Hunts-Man*, a *Smith* and ſuch like, but a *Poet* and a *Tale teller*: The firſt Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Anceſtors, and Entertained the Company at Feaſts; The latter amuſed them with Tales when they were melancholy and could not ſleep: And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me of his own Experience. That in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he uſed to be a-

broad

broad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights, ſo as he could not well ſleep; they wou'd bring him one of theſe *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damſel, and ſuch rambling Stuff, and continue it all Night long in ſuch an even Tone that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Phyſitians give could have ſo good and ſo innocent Effect, to make Men ſleep, in any Pains or Diſtempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my Youth, ſome Perſons of our Country to have ſaid Grace in Rhimes, and others their conſtant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that ſome Deeds or Conveyances of Land have been ſo, ſince the Conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched weeds as theſe, was Poetry cloathed during thoſe ſhades of Ignorance that overſpread all *Europe*, for ſo many Ages after the Sun-ſet of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were ſucceeded by ſo many new Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a new Face of Cuſtoms, Habit, Language, and almoſt of Nature: But upon the Dawn of a new Day, and the Reſurrection of other Sci-

ences, with the Two Learned Languages among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it ſelf and in *S*hapes as well as Cloaths, in Humor and in Spirit very different from the Ancient. It was now all in Rhime, after the *Gothick* Faſhion, for indeed none of the ſeveral Dialects of that Language or Allay, would bear the Compoſure of ſuch Feet and Meaſures, as were in uſe among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of Succeſs. Yet in this new Dreſs, Poetry was not without ſome Charms, eſpecially thoſe of Grace and Sweetneſs, and the Ore begun to ſhine in the Hands and Works of the firſt Refiners. *Petrach*, *Ronſard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applauſe upon the Subjects of Love, Praiſe, Grief, Reproach. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo*, entred boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for ſo high Flights began to learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or diſadantages of new Languages and Cuſtoms would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles, had been woven into the Contexture of all the ancient Poetry with a very agreable Mixture, which made

made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity, a Place also in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well, as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind, seemed rather to debase Religion, than to heighten Poetry, *Spencer* endeavoured to supply this with Morality and to make Instruction, instead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare, that it lost the Effect; 'tis true the Pill was Gilded, but so thin, that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievements in *Heroick* Poetry worth recording. The Wits of the Age, soon left off such bold adventures, and turned to other Veins as if not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious productions, as *Painters* that cannot succeed

ceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature

But the Modern Poets, to value this ſmall Coin, and make it paſs, tho' of ſo much a baſer Metal than the old, gave it a new Mixture from Two Veins which were little known or little eſteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairyes* in the old Regions of Poetry called *Epigrams*, which ſeldom reached above the Stature of two or four, or ſix Lines, and which being ſo ſhort, were all turned upon Conceit, or ſome ſharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only ancient of this Kind among the *Latins*, were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous Wooden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the Decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit, as well as Language, *Martial*, *Auſonius*, and others, fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before reſtrained to one, and dreſt it ſomething more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit, ſeemed proper for ſuch ſcraps or Splinters, into which Poetry was broken, and was ſo eagerly followed, as almoſt to over run all that was compoſed in our ſeveral modern Languages, the *Italian*, the *French*,

the

the *Spaniſh* as well as *Engliſh*, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taſt to Compoſitions which had little of themſelves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to meat that was flat, and ſome Life to Colours that were fading; and in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh Spirit, ſupplied it with this Salt which may preſerve Things or Bodies that are dead; but is, for ought I know, of little uſe to the Living, or neceſſary to Meats that have much or pleaſing Taſts of their own. However it were, this Vein firſt overflowed our modern Poetry, and with ſo little Diſtinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribles as well as the ſhort, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was juſt as if a Buliding ſhould be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths, nothing but Trimming; as if a Face ſhould be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another Vein which has entred and helpt to corrupt our Modern Poeſy, is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleas'd but what made one laugh, which yet come

from two very different Affections of the Mind; for as Men have no Diſpoſition to laugh at Things they are moſt pleaſed with, ſo they are very little pleaſed with many Things they laugh at.

But this Miſtake is very general, and ſuch modern Poets, as found no better Way of pleaſing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding converſation run ſo much into the ſame Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that part of it, which was formerly left to thoſe that were called Fools, and were uſed in great Families, only to make the Company laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character appears in thoſe Lines of *Horace*,

——— *Abſentem qui rodit amicum,*
Qui non defendit alio culpante ſolutos
Qui captat riſus hominum famamq; dicacis
Fingere qui non viſa poteſt, Commiſſa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger eſt, Hunc tu Romane
[*caveto:*

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit, in one Age, ſhould be ſo like that of a Black in another,

Rablais ſeems to have been Father of the Ridicule a Man of excellent and univerſal

verſal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Cuſtoms of Courts and of Convents, of Proceſſes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; yet he muſt be confeſt to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule by ſaying many Things ſo malicious, ſo ſmutty, and ſo prophane, that either a prudent, a modeſt, or a pious Man, could not have afforded, tho' he had never ſo much of that Coin about him, and it were to be wiſh'd, that the Wits who have followed his Vein had not put too much value upon a Dreſs, that better Underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in publick) and upon a Compaſs they gave themſelves, which other Men would not take. The matchleſs Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo excellent a compoſition of Satyr or Ridicule, without thoſe Ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began firſt in Verſe, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was purſued by *Scarron* in *French*, with his *Virgil* Traveſty, and in *Engliſh* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras* and *Cotton*, and

with greater Height of *Burleſque* in the *Engliſh*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Deſign, the Cuſtom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed, to all Virtue and good Qualities among Men, which muſt be diſheartened, by finding how unjuſtly and undiſtinguiſhed they fall under the Laſh of Raillery, and this Vein of ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may paſs in a Room, where the reſt of the Company are allowed to have none; 'tis ſomething to ſparkle among Diamonds, but to ſhine among *Pebles*, is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Beſides theſe two Veins brought in, to ſupply the Defects of the Modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the Smoothneſs of Language or Stile, which has at the beſt, but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, and can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy ſet up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuſe the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking

raking into his Politick and Miniſtery, brought this in Vogue; and the *French* Wits have for this laſt Age, been in a Manner wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with ſuch Succeſs, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verſe and their Proſe. The ſame Vein has been likewiſe much cultivated in our Modern *Engliſh* Poetry, and by ſuch poor Recruits, have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Succeſs I leave to be judged by ſuch, as conſider it in the former Heights, and the pleaſant Declines both of Power and of Honour, but this will not diſcourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Miſtreſs, who muſt ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among theſe many Decays, there is yet one Sort of Poetry, that ſeems to have ſucceeded much better with our Moderns, than any of the reſt, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spaniſh*, and the *French*, have all had their different Merit, and received their juſt Applauſes. Yet I am deceived, if our *Engliſh*, has not in ſome Kind excelled both the Modern and

and the Ancient, which has been by Force of a Vein natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expreſſed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign Writers, unleſs it be *Moliere* and yet his it ſelf has too much of the Farce, to paſs for the ſame with ours. *Shakeſpear* was the firſt that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run ſo freely and ſo pleaſantly ever ſince, that I have often wondered, to find it appear ſo little upon any others; being a Subject ſo proper for them, ſince Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general, and tho' it repreſents Dipoſitions and Cuſtoms leſs common, yet they are not leſs natural than thoſe that are more frequent among Men; for if Humour it ſelf be forced it loſes all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of ſome of our Poets moſt celebrated in this Kind.

It may ſeem a Defect in the ancient Stage, that the Characters introduced were ſo few, and thoſe ſo common, as a covetous old Man, an amroous young, a witty Wench, a crafty Slave, a bragging

ging Soldier: The Spectators met no thing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets, and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country, there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or Climat, so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater Variety of Humour in the Picture, because there is a greater Variety in the Life. This may proceed from the native Plenty of our Soil, the Unequalness of our Climat, as well as the Ease of our Government, and the Liberty of professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish'd. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are, we have more Humour because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride to shew it. On

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they ſerve hard Maſters, they muſt follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced upon Imitation in ſmall Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that ſome Nations look as if they were caſt all by one Mould, or cut out all by one Pattern, (at leaſt the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another:) They ſeem all of a ſort in their Habits, their Cuſtoms, and even their Talk and converſation, as well as in the Application and Purſuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Beſides all this, there is another ſort of Variety amongſt us, which ariſes from our Climat, and the Diſpoſitions it Naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another, than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our ſelves too, at ſeveral times, and owe to our very Air, ſome ill Qualities as well as many good: We may allow ſome Diſtempers Incident to our Climat, ſince ſo much Health, Vigour, and Length of Life have been generally aſcribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themſelves, we ſhall find the *Britains* obſerved, to live the longeſt, and the *Ægyptians*

gyptians the ſhorteſt, of any Nations that were known in thoſe Ages. Beſides, I think none will diſpute the Native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elſe where as great in Particulars, but no where ſo in General; they may be (what is ſaid of Diſeaſes) as Acute in other Places, but with us, they are Epidemical. For my own Part, who have converſed much with Men of other Nations, and ſuch as have been both in great Imployments and Eſteem, I can ſay very impartially, that I have not obſerved among any, ſo much true Genius as among the *Engliſh*; no where more Sharpneſs of Wit, more Pleaſantneſs of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better Sort: No where more Goodneſs of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainneſs of Senſe and of Life than among the common Sort of country People, nor more blunt Courage and Honeſty, than among our Sea-Men.

But with all this, our Country muſt be confeſt, to be what a great Foreign Phyſician called it, the Region of Spleen, which may ariſe a good Deal from the great Uncertainty and many ſuddain Changes

Changes of our Weather in all Seaſons of the Year. And how much theſe affect the Heads and Hearts, eſpecially of the fineſt Tempers, is hard to be believed by Men, whoſe Thoughts are not turned to ſuch Speculations. Thus makes us unequal in our Humours, inconſtant in our Paſſions, uncertain in our Ends, and even in our Deſires. Beſides, our different Opinions in Religion and the Factions they have raiſed or animated, for fifty Years paſt, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Cuſtoms, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Diſguiſe (with the uſual Conſequences of them) than were before in our Conſtitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where ſo many Diſputes upon Religion, ſo many Reaſoners upon Goverment, ſo many Refiners in Politicks, ſo many curious Inquiſitives, ſo many Pretenders to Buſineſs and State-Imployments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more abanded Libertines, more refined Luxuriſts,

uriſts, extravagant Debauches, conceited, Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philoſophy and in Chymiſtry. I have had ſeveral Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry; have known in the Families of ſome Friends, a Keeper deep in the *Roſycrucia* Principles, and a Laundreſs firm in thoſe of *Epicurus*. What Effect ſoever ſuch a Compoſition or Medly of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it muſt needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that Sort either Ancient or Modern, which excells or equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the reſt, I cannot but obſerve, to the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongſt us, ſeem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and ſuch as would be eaſily changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; ſuch I mean as ſhould be deſigned to form Manners, to reſtrain Exceſſes, to encourage Induſtry, to prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to countenance Virtue, and raiſe that true Eſteem due to Plain Senſe and Common Honeſty. But

But to ſpin off this Thread which is already grown too long: What Honour and Requeſt the ancient Poetry has Lived in, may not only be obſerved from the Univerſal Reception and Uſe in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Eſteem of the beſt and the greateſt Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon* the Wiſeſt Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah* the Holieſt Men, were the beſt Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two moſt renowned Sages and Lawgivers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the Laſt is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the firſt was ſo great a Lover of it, that to his Care and Induſtry we are ſaid (by ſome Authors) to owe the Collection and Preſervation of the looſe and ſcattered Pieces of *Homer*, in the Order wherein they have ſince appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have travelled nor ſlept, without thoſe admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris* that was inexorable to all other Enemies, relented at the Charms of *Steſichorus* his Muſe. Among the *Romans*, the laſt and great *Scipio*, paſſed the ſoft Hours of his Life in the Con-

Converſation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the Compoſition of his Comedies. *Cæſar* was an excellent Poet as well as Orator, and compoſed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome*, to *Spain*, relieving the tedious Difficulties of his March, with the Entertainments of his Muſe. *Auguſtus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himſelf, both an Admirer of Poetry, and a pretender too as far as his Genius would reach or his buſy Scene allow. 'Tis true ſince his Age, we have few ſuch Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deſerving it. Whether it be, that the Fierceneſs of the *Gothick* Humours, or Noiſe of their perpetual Wars frighted it away, or that the unequal Mixture of the Modern Languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great Heights and Excellency both of Poetry and Muſick, fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never ſince recovered the Admiration and Applauſes that before attended them. Yet ſuch as they are amongſt us, they muſt be confeſt to be the ſofteſt and ſweeteſt, the moſt

General and moſt innocent Amuſements of common Time and Life. They ſtill find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They ſerve to revive and animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to allay or divert the violent Paſſions and perturbations of the greateſt and the buſieſt Men. And both theſe Effects are of equal Uſe to Human Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreable to the Beholder nor the Voyager, in a Calm or in a Storm, but is ſo to both, when a little agitated by gentle Gales; and ſo the Mind, when moved by ſoft and eaſy Paſſions and Affections. I know very well, that many who pretend to be wiſe, by the Forms of being grave, are apt to deſpiſe both Poetry and Muſick as Toys and Trifles too light for the Uſe or Entertainment of ſerious Men. But whoever find themſelves wholly inſenſible to theſe Charms wou'd I think do well, to keep their own Counſel, for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodneſs of their Natures, if not of their Underſtandings, into Queſtion: It may be thought at leaſt an ill Sign, if not an

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ill Conſtitution, ſince ſome of the Fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the Love of Muſick a Sign of Predeſtination, as a thing Divine, and reſerved for the Felicities of Heaven it ſelf. While this World laſts, I doubt not, but the Pleaſure and Requeſts of theſe two Entertainments, will do ſo too, and happy thoſe that content themſelves with theſe, or any other ſo eaſy and ſo innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Human Life is at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward Child, that muſt be play'd with and Humour'd a little, to keep it quiet till it falls aſleep, and then the Care is over.

FINIS.

FINIS.